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**From simple communities to complex
neighbourhoods: an analysis of change in urban
and rural communities in Ningbo, China.**

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Abstract

During the past three decades, China has experienced tremendous changes in urbanization, from 18% in 1980 to 52% in 2014, resulting in a net increase of over 400 million in the urban population (Zhejiang Statistical Bureau, 2015). In this transition process, China's cities have also been undergoing a series of difficulties and challenges, including the declining downtown, environment deterioration, social imbalance, urban poverty, housing shortage, social stratification, land shortage and an aging society.

Changes at the community level can be seen as the response to urban and rural social and institutional changes. This is because the residential community is not only the focus of daily life and social activities, but also produces profound and comprehensive interaction with city re-structuring and growth (See Chapter one and two). As a result, studies of the detailed characteristics of urban changes at community-level have become the crucial perspective for understanding the internal logic of urban changes, whether they be social, economic or administrative. Therefore, the research aim is "To analyse the characteristics of socio-economic changes at the neighbourhood level in Ningbo from the 1980s to the 2010s, to clarify the mechanisms of neighborhood changes in transitional China for supporting better development".

The thesis draws upon an evidence base comprising personal observation, completed questionnaires from 156 residents (locals, students and migrants), and interviews of 120 local residents, migrants, members of Community Committee and Village Committee, civil servants and researchers, together with evidence drawn from Ningbo Yearbook, the 2010 census, and statistical data from Ningbo Statistical Bureau. Based on the appraisal framework designed by means of a literature review of sustainable development and community studies, from the perspective of local residents and migrant workers, it analysed the characteristics of social, economic and administrative changes at the neighbourhood level from three cases of the downtown, urban fringe and suburb of Ningbo from the 1980s to the 2010s.

The final part of this research summarized the general characteristics of communities and neighbourhood changes in transitional China, and discussed the mechanisms of the changes from the perspective of institutional changes and urbanization, as well as the motivations of migrants' social mobility.

The research found that the market mechanisms and power involved in social and economic changes are the main causes of community and neighbourhood change in transitional China. However, this does not mean governments totally withdrawing from the process, but their role has changed from the "manipulation of power" to being the "mediation of the stakeholders' conflicts" and "encouraging participation". Therefore, it can be called the "dual-track approach", with everything happening gradually as part of a process of reform, initiated and directed by the state.

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List of abbreviations

CAC	Community Activities Centre
CAD	Civil Affairs department
CASBEE	Comprehensive assessment system for building environmental efficiency
CBD	Central business district
Chang.	Changes over time
CPC	Communist Party Committee
CPS	Commercial Pedestrian Street
CRCs	Commercial-residential communities
CRNs	Commercial-residential neighbourhoods
Desk.	Desktop/ Archival Research
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
HD	Helping the disadvantage
HR	Human resource
Inter.	Interview
JDG	Jiangbei District Government
LCC	Local Community Committee
LTN	Local traditional neighbourhood
LCC	Local Community Committee
LLC	Limited Liability Company
L.	Local residents
M.	Migrant workers from rural
NCCPC	National Congress of the Communist Party Committee
NPC	the National People's Congress
NBU	Ningbo University
NBSB	Ningbo Statistical Bureau
NOGs	Non-government organisations
NBU	Ningbo University
O.	Observation
OC	Owner committee
P.R. China	The People's Republic of China
PCS	People Commune System
PMCs	Property Management Company
PPPs	Policies, Plans and Programs
Quest.	Questionnaires
RMB/M	Ren Min Bi per Month
RCRS	The rural contract responsibility system
SBC	Statistical Bureau of China
SDG	The sub-district governments
SOEs	State-owned enterprises
SOCR	Scotland Office of the Chief Researcher
SEA	Strategic Environmental Assessment
SPSS	Statistical Product and Service Solutions

SWCC	Community Committee (Social workers)
TND	Traditional Neighbourhood Development
UN	United Nation
V.	Village
VC	Village Committee
VCPT	Village Committee of post-tax
VAC	The Village Activities Centre
WCHY	Wenchang-Huayuan
XXLS	Xiangxie-Lishe
YXSJ	Yinxing-Siji
Z.S. Park	Zhongshang Park (中山公园)
ZJSB	Zhejiang Statistical Bureau

Part I

**Introduction,
conceptualization and
Literature review**

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 The rationale of the research

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, many planners and researchers have experimented with programmes for improving neighbourhoods (Rohe & Gates, 1985), but little of this work has been based on a complete analysis of the neighbourhoods' social and spatial characteristics and the unique characteristics of how changes have happened in this context. China, in particular, is experiencing an extraordinary urbanisation process, with complex development problems and unique characteristics, and there is a pressing need for more studies to be conducted in this research area.

1.1.1 Where do the problems come from?

Since the 1980s, China's economic restructuring has involved the deepening reform of state-owned enterprises, the loosening of Hukou (household registration), changes in the housing allocation system, improved housing conditions and an enhanced quality of life; however, the remaining issues of residential spatial imbalance and unsustainable neighbourhoods have attracted increasing attention. At the city level, the quality of traditional old housing downtown and the infrastructure in urban fringe villages are not guaranteed, but new commercial-residential areas also bring many problems, such as disputes between owners and property companies, social stratification, fewer opportunities for participation and weak social cohesion.

Rapid urbanisation and development do not necessarily bring about upgrades in all neighbourhoods and residential areas, and high-quality hardware does not necessarily mean a high quality of social life. Hence, residents do not have equal access to resources, and neighbourhoods are not treated the same in the allocation system. Some opportunities are offered to the urban poor and socially disadvantaged groups, such as laid-off workers, the local ageing population, landless farmers and the increasing number of migrant workers (Yuan & Xue, 2006). The way they live and are distributed spatially obviously determines the inherent characteristics and different demands for housing in certain areas, so which neighbourhoods are providing for their changing needs in transitional China? And how has the differentiation of social and economic characteristics come about?

1.2 Aim and objectives

The research aim is "to analyse the characteristics of socio-economic changes at the neighbourhood level in Ningbo from the 1980s to the 2010s, to clarify the mechanisms of neighbourhood changes in transitional China for supporting better development".

This research aim may be addressed through three key objectives. Relevant research questions can be defined to help fulfil each of these objectives, providing an important step which can guide the development of a suitable research methodology (Yin, 1994). In this research, the questions were designed to reflect the logical steps that could be taken to reach the objectives and to help form the research structure.

- Objective 1: To review the potential and limitations of community and neighbourhood studies in the west and in transitional China
 - (a) What are the working concepts of community and neighbourhood, in transitional China?
 - (b) How have neighbourhood and community been studied? And how has the conceptual framework been developed?
- Objective 2: To design the case studies and field work.
 - (a) What are the strategy, structure, content and scope of the case studies?
 - (b) How have the three neighbourhoods of Ningbo been selected?
 - (c) What are the strategies for data collection and usage?
- Objective 3: To study the socio-economic changes of three cases to identify the unique characteristics and problems of changed neighbourhoods in transitional China.
 - (a) What is the research background of Ningbo 1980s-2010s?
 - (b) What are the changes of communities and neighbourhoods over the past three decades?
 - (c) What are the changes in terms of employment, income, housing, sense of community, public services and infrastructure?
 - (d) What are changes in the community administration and participation?
- Objective 4: To clarify the characteristics of neighbourhoods at a city level and to analyse the mechanisms of these changes.
 - (a) What are the unique characteristics of neighbourhood changes in terms of category, social, economic structure and administrative models?
 - (b) What are the mechanisms of these changes?
 - (c) What happens to migrant workers after their arrival in cities?
 - (d) What roles do different neighbourhoods play in migrants' family lifecycles?
 - (e) What are the motivations of social mobility and residential changes?

1.3 Design of the research

1.31 The structure of the analytical framework

On the basis of a review of the literature of sustainability and related fields in the west (Andrews and Withey, 1974; Koelle, 1974; Pacione, 2003; Deas, Robson, Wong and Bradford, 2003; Connolly and Chisholm, 1999; Pacione, 2005; Skapinakis, Lewis, Araya, Jones and Williams, 2005; Kearns, Gibb and Mackay, 2000; Pacione, 1986), this research sets out a general cycle of the process of neighbourhood research (Figure 1.1).

Usually, sustainability studies are initiated by background knowledge of the imbalance of housing and other social welfare in urban areas (Pacione, 2003; Connolly and Chisholm, 1999; Kearns, Gibb and Mackay, 2000; Pacione, 1986). So the first step is to set out the research questions and aims in these areas through an in-depth understanding of the areas of imbalance; not only the phenomenon itself, but also the internal causes behind it. For example, Pacione (1990) built up sustainability research questions from a British government perspective, in the introductory part of his research titled “Ecclesiastical neighbourhood of interest as a response to urban poverty and sustainability”. Hence, sometimes the understanding of the research questions and aims are closely associated with the options of political ideologies.

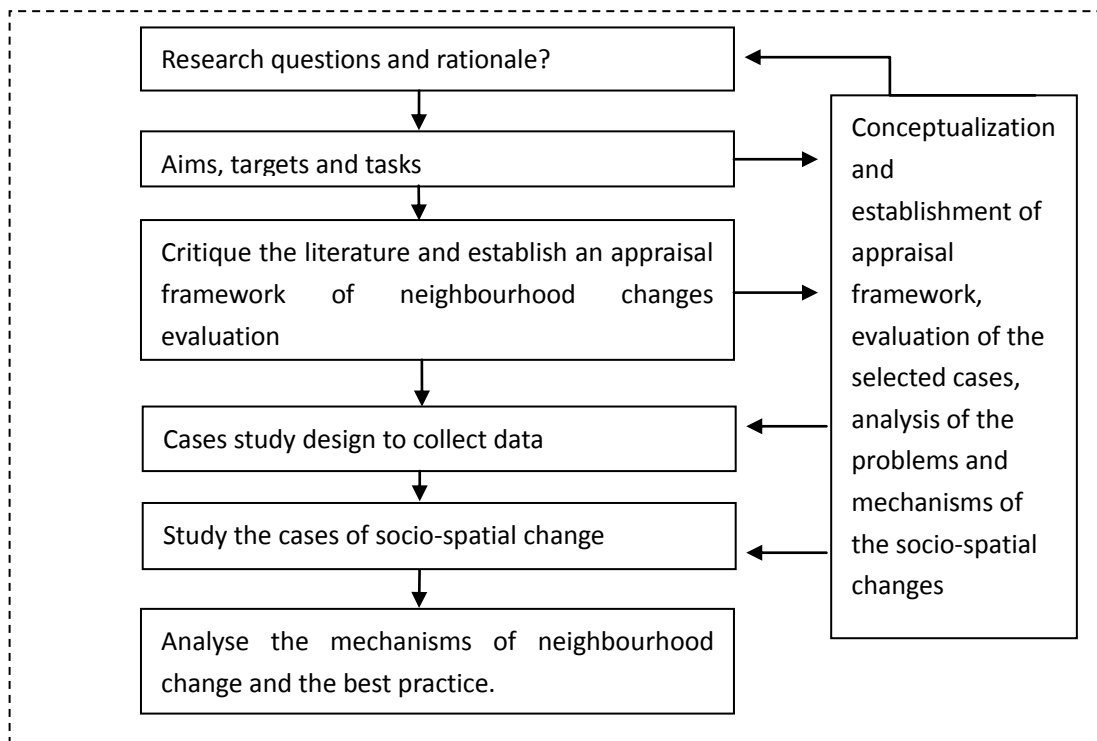


Figure 1.1: The cyclical process of neighbourhood research

Source: Based on literature of sustainability and research

Establishing the social indicator system is an important and difficult part of the study. Some scholars have given a description of the dataset, intended to clarify the measures of the assessment (Skapinakis, Lewis, Araya, Jones and Williams, 2005; Kearns, Gibb and Mackay, 2000); some used most of their papers to explain the evaluation approach in terms of the key concepts, choice of indicator type, scale of analysis, and the measurement of domains (Pacione, 2003; Deas, Robson, Wong and Bradford, 2003; Connolly and Chisholm, 1999); here are also many papers that only discuss the methodology in terms of measurement and social indicators (Harris, 2002; Andrews and Withey, 1974; Koelle, 1974). So how to frame the conceptual foundation of the communities and neighbourhood and establish an appraisal framework in this context will be a challenging and valuable part of this research.

Then, following this indicator system to design the data collection methodologies, the next step is to “Study the cases of socio-spatial changes”. In most cases, projects and research papers are split it into two sections. The objective analysis is based on the results of the evaluation and can help to clarify the characteristics and identify the problems of neighbourhood development and changes. This is the key part of the whole research, and is what most researchers, especially social geographers, do in their projects (Pacione, 1986, 2003; Deas, Robson, Wong and Bradford, 2003; Connolly and Chisholm, 1999; Pacione, Skapinakis, Lewis, Araya, Jones and Williams, 2005; Kearns, Gibb and Mackay, 2000).

The final step is based on analysing the characteristics of neighbourhood change. This opens the discussion of the reasons and mechanisms behind these complex changes in different neighbourhoods, clarifies the function of diverse neighbourhoods for different social groups of their family cycle life, and the progress of urban and rural communities’ administrative change. Hence, the changed picture of urban changes in terms of social, economic and physical aspects has been fully described from individual to neighbourhood and city levels in transitional China.

In conclusion, the design for this research has three distinct points:

- 1: To develop an appraisal framework, informed by a critical review of the literature, and considering the unique characteristics of neighbourhood changes in transitional China, with the expectation that this system will be more reliable and appropriate in the context of transitional China.
- 2: To analyse the case studies. Instead of simply arriving at a value or computed result to evaluate sustainability, mainly through quantitative analysis on the basis of data collection, this research places more emphasis on the analysis of the unique characteristics and reasons behind the problems of the process of neighbourhood change. Therefore, it stresses the qualitative aspects of the transitional process and combines this with the quantitative aspects. In this way it is able to show detail and specific problems more clearly and vividly for readers’ understanding of the problems, evolution and reasons for neighbourhood change in China.

1.32 Based on experience of the west

A great deal of neighbourhood and urban research in China is from a comparative perspective, as many researchers have recognised the value of international experience in research, and some progress has been achieved since the late 1990s in related fields (Zhang, 1997; Li & Wu, 2006; Liu, He & Wei, 2009; Yuan, 2010; Zhang, 2011, etc.). Ideas and approaches of urban studies in one context could have important contributions to others (Harvey, 1989; Oyen, 1999; Ray & Sinha, 2012), and Dolowitz and Marsh list a number of things that could in theory be transferred: “Policy goals, structure and content, policy instruments or administrative techniques; institutions; ideology; ideas, attitudes and concepts; and negative lessons” (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996). However Stone (2004) used the “softer” transfer of ideas, ideologies and concepts to differentiate “hard” things, such as institutions and governments.

Some scholars (Hantrais and Mangan, 1996) mention that an international perspective may help to identify the gaps of knowledge and directions of which the researchers and policy makers may have been unaware. Then, in defining an appraisal framework system for this context, a review and comparison of the rich research experience of sustainability and sustainable development in the west would make a sound contribution to this system.

Moreover, many of the urban studies in China use experience from the western world, and some of them have made great progress in their field (Wang, 2004; Yuan, 2006; Wang & Wang, 2011; Zhang, 2010). Hence, Chinese cities should not be studied in isolation when facing the challenges of sustainability, social imbalance and new poverty, but in their world context. In the analysis of mechanisms, the classical theories in urban and social geography from the western perspective, such as socio-spatial theories, family life cycles and urban ecology, will be used to review and analyse social and economic changes in transitional China’s¹ neighbourhoods and communities. This will enable the researcher to determine China’s unique characteristics and its differences from the current western experience, in order to contribute to the current theories.

1.33 A case study approach

Why does research need a case study? Yin (2009) contends that the experiments, histories, survey and analysis of archival information are methods of conducting social science work, and he points out: “Case studies are the preferred strategy when “how” or “why” questions are being posed.” Obviously one of these research questions is “How and why have the neighbourhoods changed in Ningbo?”, so a case study is needed for this study.

¹ **Transitional China:** There are main three aspects: 1. Institutional transformation, from planned economy to market economy system; 2. Social restructure: including behavior, lifestyles, value systems; 3. Social form changed, meaning "Chinese society from a traditional society to a modern society, from an agricultural society to an industrial society, and from a closed society to an open society of social change and development"

Why Ningbo?

Most case studies of community and neighbourhoods changes are based on a few big cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Shenzhen (Yuan, 2009; Wang & Wang, 2011; Yuan, Xue & Xu, 2006; Wang, 2004), but fewer have been based on other cities of China.

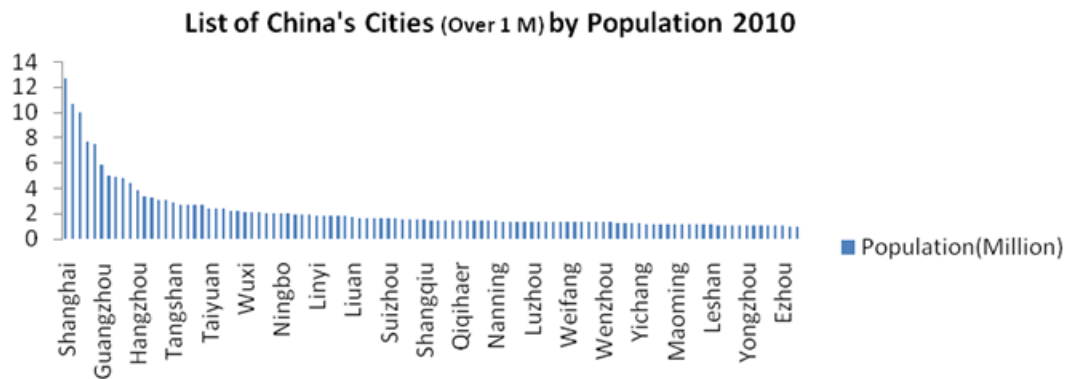


Figure 1.2 China's Cities ranked by Population 2010 (over 1 Million)

Source: National 6th Census 2010

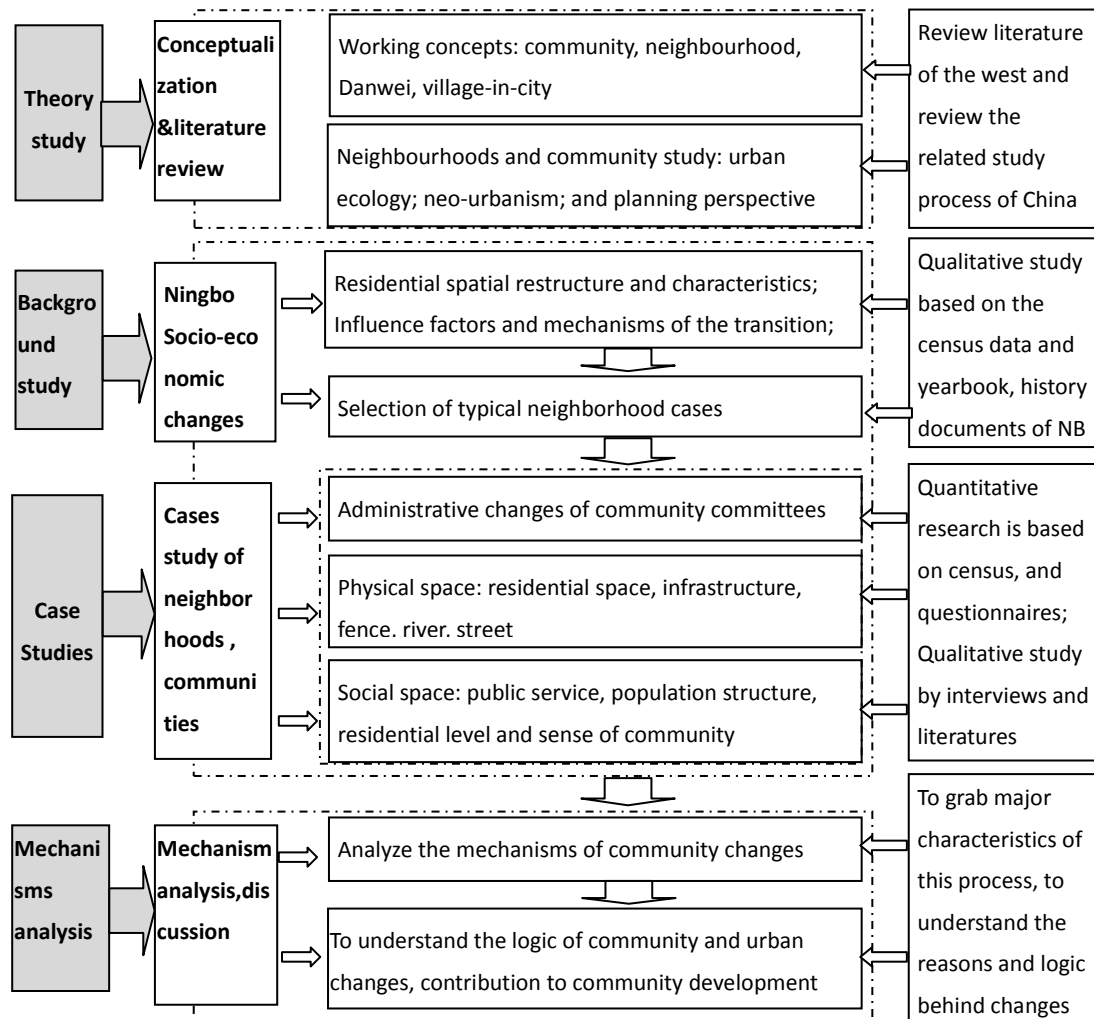
Ningbo is located on the south wing of the Yangtze River Delta and is an urban belt that is considered to be one of most active areas of China in terms of globalisation, urbanisation and economic transition. Figure 1.2 shows that the urban population size of most of China's cities is under three million. Ningbo, with 2.03 million, is ranked 31st in China's cities (Census 6th, 2010). Over 40% of Ningbo's population are migrants nowadays, and as one of the most rapidly developing cities in the Chinese economy, it has also experienced comprehensive changes in population structure, social values, residential qualities, public facilities and buildings qualities (Zhang, 2010). There is a lot on which to base urban and rural studies in this city, but it has not attracted much attention from the academic world (Zhang, 2010).

Moreover, an in-depth understanding of the urban change process at the neighbourhood level will be gained from Ningbo. The evaluation experience and lessons from this research in transitional Ningbo will provide valuable suggestions and ideas for the municipality's policy-making process and for the design of future policies and practices for the neighbourhoods' well-being.

1.4 The research structure

This research is divided into four main parts. Firstly, it presents the concepts of contextualisation and a literature review on neighbourhood and community change. Secondly, it establishes an evaluation framework for neighbourhood changes in transitional China and a strategic design for the case study, data collection and analysis. Thirdly, it presents the case analysis, following the appraisal framework, to determine the unique characteristics and

problems associated with neighbourhood change. Lastly, it discusses how neighbourhood, community and village changes happened from the perspectives of institutional change and urbanisation (Figure 1.3).



1.3 The research structure

Source: The author

Part I Introduction, conceptualization and Literature review

Part One includes three chapters: Chapter one aims to introduce the research by explaining the rationale for this research, and introducing the aims, objectives, research questions, and the research structure.

Chapter Two, on the basis of a review of the concepts of “neighbourhood” and “community”, discusses the connotations of community change studies in different contexts, to define the working concepts for this research.

Chapter Three, by discussing related theories on community studies, including urban ecology, new urbanism, urbanisation and planning practice, focussing on sustainable studies, proposes

an appraisal framework, the research structure for studying community change in this research.

Part II Design the methodology of the case studies

Chapter Four will introduce and explain the study design and methodology of this study, including the details of case study selection, research scope, introduction of community cases, data collection and data analysis.

Part III Analysis of the community and neighbourhood change in order to identify the problems and characteristics based on three case studies

Part Three has four chapters that make up two sections.

The first section is Chapter Five, which briefly introduces the city's social, institutional, spatial and economic changes, providing a detailed background for preparing the community level analysis.

The second section has three chapters, Six, Seven and Eight, one for each of the case studies, employing the appraisal framework for community and neighbourhood change. It describes the dynamic characteristics of the selected communities, neighbourhoods and villages over time periods, including residents' population structure, income and jobs, residential environment and housing, public services and facilities, sense of community and the details of communities' administration.

Part IV Discussion and reflection

Part Five contains the two chapters. The mechanisms of community change are studied in Chapter nine. Drawing on the analysis of the communities, neighbourhoods and villages in downtown, urban fringe and outskirts over three decades, and from institutional changes and an urbanisation perspective, it discusses how these factors influenced the community's change. It then focuses on migrant workers, as a socially disadvantaged group, their social mobility and the functions provided by different neighbourhoods and communities in their family life cycles. Finally the chapter discusses the changes in urban and rural administrative models in order to explore the mechanisms and the extent of participation.

Chapter 10 presents the findings of the field studies, case studies and mechanism analysis, discusses the contributions to the theories, and provides the overall conclusions from the research. It gives recommendations for community and neighbourhood development in the context of China.

Chapter Two: The conceptualisation of community and neighbourhood

Any discussion about an urban unit, neighbourhood or community, cannot be detached from the context that it is from, since context has a significant relationship with urban patterns and the shaping and developing of trends. Many scholars have studied the topic in different contexts, described its variety by definitions and interpretations, and found that each of them has a unique combination of background social and economic characteristics.

In this chapter, the concepts of “community” and “neighbourhood” will be compared in order to understand their differences and similarities. The concepts of the diverse neighbourhoods and communities in China’s context will then be explored, in order to explain the concept that is used in this research.

2.1 Understanding the concepts

2.1.1 Community and neighbourhood

Neighbourhood and community are words that are used almost interchangeably by people to refer to both geographical areas in proximity and people of a certain ethnicity or race (He & Liu, 2005). People talk about their neighbourhoods and communities in the same breath, although there is actually a subtle difference between the two concepts.

The word "community" was originally from the Latin word “communis”, meaning "intimate partner relationship", which is also one of the important characteristics of a community (Zhao, 2003). The concept in sociology was from a word ‘Gemeinschaft’, which was proposed by German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies (1887) in the book "Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft"; the English version is "Community and Society" (Zhao, 2003).

Usually, community is a word that refers to a group of people living in a specific area or district, and it also means the ethnic groups living inside particular residential areas or target social groups, for example, the business community of London, the Chinese community of Liverpool. Johnston (1994:80) explained the social part in his definition of community as “a social network of interacting individuals, usually concentrated in a defined area” and he (2001) also argued that “territoriality” can be useful in studies of group and individual behaviour at multiple scales, as a concept related to state power, social structure and boundary (Johnston, 2001).

Neighbourhood as a concept arises from the word “neighbour”, placing more emphasis on the people living near (or adjacent to) one another in a particular area or district (Mann, 1970). He and Liu (2004) also claimed that, as an urban settlement unit, a neighbourhood is a certain area with communal interaction between people living together.

In short, there is no specific population size nor are there universal rules of the scope a

neighbourhood is supposed to have; neighbourhood as a concept has double features, both geographical and social. Therefore, it could be considered as a sub-division of the urban area, an important unit of urban study. In general, both of the words cover the discussion of social elements, while compared to communities, neighbourhoods put more emphasis on the spatial unit in urban planning, and therefore, using the neighbourhood is more appropriate for residential areas given the micro level of this research.

2.1.2 The concept of neighbourhood

Everyone has neighbourhoods, but acquaintances are not necessarily limited by our physical neighbourhoods, as Mann (1970, pp. 150) stated: *“A neighbourhood is usually thought of more in geographical terms as a town or city, which may be distinct by virtue of certain boundaries and marked out from other neighbourhoods by certain homogeneity of housing within the area”*. While the social elements and geographical aspects do not always go together, this indeed triggers discussion among other observers, so where is the neighbourhood?

Glass (1948) put forward definitions to answer the question: *“a territorial group, the members of which meet on common ground within their own area for primary social activities and for organized and spontaneous social contacts”*, and she further showed the *“organized and spontaneous social contacts”* by using maps and explaining how the residents' activities were concentrated in a territory. Glass, on the other hand, argued that: *“In Middlesbrough, social activities were dispersed rather than concentrated.”* Neighbourhood is indeed a difficult notion to elaborate, but these definitions have some characteristics in common. Mann (1970) for example stated that *“one thing in common – a common type of housing and amenities, some sort of common interests among inhabitants and some sort of common pattern of social life”*.

In early research on physical planning, Clarence Perry presented his 'neighbourhood unit formula' as *“a physically defined unit, with school, churches, and recreational areas at its centre”* (Lawhon, 2009). The aim of physical design is to concentrate daily activities rather than to disperse them, so the neighbourhood unit has had a long history of being employed in theoretical studies as the most significant planning unit with which to evaluate the quality of life (Burton, 2005; Dempsey 2006; Keller 1968) and the quality of the physical environment (Dempsey 2006, 2008a, 2008b). He and Liu (2005) considered that it has specific significance socially as Perry's neighbourhood unit provided plenty of opportunities for local residents to get together. Moreover, Seabrook (1995) provided a social definition of the neighbourhood when he described it as the *“area where the majority of people know by sight most of these who live there and probably recognize everyone of their own age group”* (cited in Meegan and Mitchell 2001, p. 2172).

2.1.3 The concepts in different perspectives

Geographical scales

From a spatial perspective, the comparison of communities could be made on a larger scale, including the national and global scales, since communities are both place-based and imaginary (England, 2011, p.103). Neighbourhoods, on the other hand, are usually the sub-areas of cities, on the local scale. Neighbourhoods are *“the bundle of spatially-based attributes associated with clusters of residences, sometimes in conjunction with other land uses”* (Galster 2001, p. 2112), and in most cases, references are made to neighbourhoods as small scale residential areas, rather than focussing on the extent of their social cohesion (Johnston, 2005). Kallus & Law-Yone (1997) compared a neighbourhood with other related academic words by reviewing the literature of urban planning, such as the “Ward” by Howard, the “Sector” by CIAM, “Unite” by Le Corbusier, the “Cluster” by Smithson, the “Urban Tissue” by Habraken, the “Quartier” by Krier and the “Residential District” by Ro Rossi. Simply, neighbourhoods could be considered as a specific physical unit and the appropriate geographical scales for spatial quality evaluation between the housing units and the city level.

Urban sociology

In urban sociology, many researchers from different perspectives have contributed concept studies of the neighbourhood. Keller (1968) demonstrated that neighbourhoods have closer relationships than communities. Ley (1983) stated that neighbourhoods are sub-culture groups composed of the major local residents in certain areas. However, Johnston (2005) critiqued that many people even seriously doubt the current existence of such a spatial unit of society, due to the urban mobility of populations and the opportunities available for interactions of economic and political factors beyond the living environment; these are not easily distinguished by the experience. Hence, whether there is any stable social network in a certain area is a disputed problem.

There is no consensus about the content and criteria used to define neighbourhoods. Davies and Herbert (1993) reviewed almost one hundred different definitions of neighbourhoods and communities, summarising their elements and definitions:

1 *“Proximity and neighbourhood contact are the basis for the simplest and most elementary form of association which we have in the organization of city life ... The neighbourhood exists without formal organization”* (Park 1925, p. 7).

2 *“A neighbourhood is a distinct territorial group, distinct by virtue of the specific physical characteristics of the area and the specific social characteristics of the inhabitants”* (Glass 1948, p. 18).

3 *“The term neighbourhood refers to distinctive areas into which larger spatial units may be subdivided, such as gold coast and slums ... geographical and personal boundaries do not always coincide”* (Keller 1968, p. 87).

4 *“In the last analysis, each neighbourhood is what the inhabitants think it is. The only genuinely accurate delimitation of neighbourhood is done by people who live there, work there, retire there, and take pride in themselves as well as their community”* (U.S. National Commission on Neighborhoods, 1979).

Simply, according to sociologists, although there is no consensus about defining neighbourhood, most of them consider it is a social network within a certain area where they live.

Urban planning

In the urban planning of a modern industrial city, the neighbourhood is usually considered as a comprehensive residential system, and is a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon; also, the city could be viewed as a composite assemblage of hundreds of residential neighbourhood units. As the planner developed the “neighbourhood” to be a tool for understanding urban change (Sola-Morales, 1978), and neighbourhoods were also designed in a way that developed to be the components of residential areas of cities (Colquhoun, 1985). Therefore, as Kallus & Law-Yone (2000) claimed, by creating new rules and methods, the idea of “building neighbourhood” has been established for planning practice.

Nevertheless, why are neighbourhoods observed and used as a planning unit? The unit, as a well-organised structure in terms of physical and social aspects, is able to offer a manageable environment and to generate communal relations among residents and diverse associations. The size of the unit can range from the span of several houses to an entire block of the city (Colquhoun, 1985); it is an independent organised system, with its own characteristics and mechanisms, in the bigger system, the entire city. Then, the effective planning and development of neighbourhoods and residential communities, including the elements of construction style, clusters of shops and service areas, the structure of the residential territory boundary, also contribute to efficient management and building at a city level.

As outlined above, the concept of neighbourhood has been crucial to the planning and building of residential areas, while its definition seems far from being fixed. The analysis of the theories in different contexts shows the variations over different periods. However, as the basic unit of an urban system, not only does the neighbourhood contain physical and environmental space planning, but it also emphasises the communal connections and self-identity. Therefore, the neighbourhood, as a residential community space, is the formation of a certain number of people with a sense of identity, belonging, public facilities,

institutions and organisations. It has clear geographical borders, a community identity and a social network that have been gradually formed by the interaction process among the long-term residents, a completely physical and social community. It is a sub-system of a city, an explicit planning unit, and different types of adjacent neighbourhoods exist in social areas, so it is a study unit of urban geography.

2.2 The concepts in transitional China's context

The word "community" was firstly proposed in China by the sociologist Wu Wenzao in the 1930s, who dedicated himself to introducing western sociology into China. He learned from the research experiences of Malinowski and Radcliffe (British Functions School), created the methods of Chinese community research, proposed its specific programmes, and explained the functions and significance of community research (Dong, 2008; Liu, 2000). Hence, his contribution had an extensive influence on the development of community research in sociology in China. Scholars reached a consensus to translate "community" into "Shequ 社区", community in Chinese (Zhao 2009).

Generally, as a very broad concept in social science, community has been a struggle for many social theorists to define. Jiang (2004) argued that, compared with the western emphasis on government guidance and self-governance, China's neighbourhood is more a concept of an "administrative" model. It emphasises a rigorous system of organisations and staff rather than enhancing the quality of daily life, reflecting a relatively simple principle of top-down. For others, neighbourhood is a complicated concept with various explanations. For example, Zhao (2002) realised that it contains five values: "geography, population, location, structure and psychosocial values; and there is a certain geographic area, a certain number of people sharing common interests, residents, and with an intimate social interaction" (Zhao, 2002; Li, 2102).

2.2.1 The concept of community in China's context

Community, as a concept, was originally introduced to China. It still has connotations of sociology in the West, but after decades of self-development and adaptation, this concept has been established in the Chinese context, and has distinct features not included in any of the theories in the West.

Emphasis on physical space

Besides emphasis on the concept of society, organisation and people, researchers in China have also paid attention to physical aspects, including community infrastructure, facilities, housing quality, land and air quality (Zhou & Zhu, 2005; Sun & Deng, 2001; Zhang, 2001;

Zhang, 1997; Xu, 2001). One of the main reasons is that Hukou (household registration) place is where your property located, meaning the household can only be accessible to the local public facilities and service (for example, they cannot apply to other schools not belonging to this residential community for their children); so the residential community where your housing located is where your Hukou is registered, determining the qualities of infrastructure, education, clinic, public facilities and environment you can enjoy (Sun & Deng, 2001; Zhang, 2001). Then, the meaning of “different registration places” has been emphasised in the concept of “community” in China (Li, 2012).

Under the big different interpretations of “community” in different contexts, merely adopting the West’s interpretation of “Community” will not provide adequate understanding of “community” in China’s current society.

As a term of political

Based on the text analysis of a number of central government reports, policy statements and official leaders’ public conversations since the 1980s, Yang and Wang (2010) found that the concept of community in China’s context is different from that in the West. This was mainly true on two points: this concept of community was established in an administrative region rather than in a naturally formed one; secondly, this concept has less the meaning of “participation”, and more “a smaller size society in a certain area”.

Simply, “community” is a concept that was directly borrowed in order to define the elementary level of the government’s administrative system in China (Li, 2012). Thus, the concept becomes a basic social community with an administrative boundary, but many communities’ boundaries do not necessarily coincide with the administrative boundaries in practice, such as a natural village, historic districts, and an urban community. Therefore, for the governments and authorities involved, the concept of community in China has become increasingly politicised, and governments have also become the main driving force for community development. Community research in China has been largely around topics concerned with developing and regenerating communities (Yang and Wang, 2010).

Therefore, in categorising the administrative scale in China, “Shequ (community)” is considered as a large cluster of residential areas. Neighbourhood is a basic unit of settlement. In geographical scale and scope, a community is rather extensive and includes several neighbourhoods. For example in Ningbo, there are five neighbourhoods in the downtown Wenchang community, with a total population of around 8500. This includes three commercial-residential neighbourhoods (Xiangxi-Lishe, Wenchang-Huayuan, Yinxing-Siji), a resettlement neighbourhood (No. 73 Neighbourhood), and a traditional old neighbourhood.

2.2.2 The concepts of communities and neighbourhoods in transitional China

There are relatively few community concepts in China's context that are similar to those in the western world, but a series of concepts about communities and neighbourhoods have been steadily emerging in the rapidly changing transitional China since 1980.

From Danwei to marketing-oriented communities

Danwei

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the planned-economy system and public ownership have been the foundation of social policies and resource allocation in communities. Danwei, as a social unit of the planned-economy period, was a direct result of the extent of social, political and physical integration between a Danwei system and a residential community; as a physical space, Danwei, also has obvious geographical division, administrative and social boundaries, including all aspects of residents' work, housing and daily life, like a closed but smaller sized independent society (Guo, 1998).

Danwei is mainly reflected in two aspects: economic and policy implementation. With mainly public ownership (SOE), Danwei conducts production activities and resource allocation under the planned-economy system, and it also works on the implementation of specific national policies, appointed assignments and projects, monitoring and supervising residents' social activities. A social function, Danwei provides social welfare and living needs for its members, specifically for disadvantaged groups, including training for the unemployed, disabled welfare and housing distribution. Through these functions and responsibilities, Danwei resolves the social contradictions and needs within the community, in order to maintain the balance between development and social aspects, ensuring China's urban social stability and economic circulation (Chai, 2013; Liao, 2004; Hu, 2006; Wang, 2003).

However, lacking the consideration of the residents' diverse needs, Danwei has inefficient resource allocation, and limited the freedom of social interaction and job selections, specific in the trend of rapid urbanisation and marketing economy (Chai, 2013; Wang, 2003).

Commercial-residential communities

Since the housing reforms and new land use policies issued by central government in the late 1990s, an essentially monetary-based housing distribution system replaced the welfare system (Lei, 2001). Under this market mechanism, housing has turned into a commodity, so that the residential community is developed by a real estate company and managed by a professional property company, leading to the description of commercial-residential communities. In these communities, residents are from very different job and educational backgrounds, but with

similar income levels. Neighbours are not familiar with one another anymore, residents have less passion about their own community affairs, but usually benefit from a relatively complete infrastructure system and public facilities.

Hence, in this change from Danwei to commercial-residential communities, the communities' social functions, responsibilities and administrative structure have all undergone a great change. For example, the employment distribution sector under the Danwei system has been replaced by the function of labour market, causing the factors of personal political and family backgrounds have been diluted. Channels of employment have more freedom, particularly for non-locals, including college students and migrant workers (Wang, 2003). Moreover, the Community Committee system, as a self-governance and self-service organisation, established under central government policies in the 1990s, has given residents more ownership rights and a voice in community management and development to guarantee their interests (Xiao, Xu and Lin, 2011).

Landless villages, resettlement communities, village-in-cities and new villages

Urban fringe and suburb areas have also experienced dramatic changes as a result of rapid urbanisation. Increasing amounts of agricultural land have been developed into urban areas, and the landscape of traditional settlement and villages has been fragmented by the surrounding infrastructure projects and construction (Wang, Cao and Bai, 2001). These villages lost their land by urbanisation to differing degrees, and are referred to as the "landless villages".

In the villages that have lost agricultural lands, besides the land compensation settlement, villagers also have more sources of income as a result of the huge number of migrant workers attracted by labour-intensive industries and college students in university towns on the urban fringe. For example, they can rent property, and run small businesses such as restaurants, mini KTV bars (karaoke), shops and clothing stores. As for the villages that were completely demolished, usually their inhabitants would be wholly resettled in a new residential area, referred to as a "resettlement community". Villagers stopped their agricultural life but had to adapt to a new lifestyle, living in new forms of housing, and adjusting their self-identity.

And with rapid urbanisation spreading throughout the urban fringe and suburb areas, the rapid infrastructure construction and development of labour-intensive industries have attracted a huge number of migrant workers, who live in the cheaper housing areas of landless villages and villages-in-city.

The village, as a residential community, is still a traditional rural social settlement with a kinship-based system of rural life or social networks, but with significant dual characteristics. The locals rely on rental property and sharing profits from collective property operations, but

with migrant workers dependent solely on their labour income, with little prospect of being able to make the transition to becoming a local citizen. From this perspective, the residential communities of migrant agglomeration can be considered as “a transforming platform with the function of social filtering” (Wei and Yan, 2005).

2.3 Summary: the concepts in this research

In this research, community is defined as an agglomeration of people in a certain residential area, including their social interactions, and the functions of economic, social, political, institutional and spatial structure. Community is also considered as a basic unit of the urban administrative system, a political entity, with specific administrative boundaries, for example, a Danwei, a village and a resettled neighbourhood, all of which can be considered communities.

However, it has diverse forms in rural and urban areas, such as communities in rural and urban fringes, including villages-in-city, landless villages and new villages. In urban areas, it contains settlements such as Danwei, resettlement communities, traditional communities and commercial-residential communities (Huang, 2005; Hu, 2006; Zhang & Chai, 2009). In China’s context, the size of a community’s administrative boundary is usually changing from 50m to 300m, with a population of between 5,000 and 30,000 (Ningbo Municipality, 2015). It contains many types of residential units, Danwei, commercial-residential communities, resettlement and traditional communities.

Herein for convenience and less confusion in this thesis, to be prominent meaning of administrative border of the communities, and to differentiate the internal differences of these residential areas, then different communities belong to one community in terms of administration, are all defined as “neighbourhoods”. For example, the Wenchang community is an administrative entity with clear administrative boundaries, comprising three commercial-residential neighbourhoods (Xiangxie-Lishe, Yinxing-Siji, and Wenchang-Huayuan), one resettlement neighbourhood (No. 73) and a traditional old neighbourhood. So, in this research, “neighbourhood”, is an urban unit and a physical form of social living space. It contains both physical and community properties, mainly referring to residents of different income and social backgrounds, education, household income, residential preference and community management.

Chapter Three: Literature review and appraisal framework

Since China's reform and opening up in 1978, urban and rural areas have experienced dramatic changes in the process of changing from a planned economy to a market economy. Communities, as a city's basic unit, have changed in response to the social and institutional changes in urbanisation (Sun, 2006, pp. 20-25). The distinctive characteristics of community change in transitional China are a result of the progressive collapse of villages, Danwei and traditional communities. Different forms of new communities and neighbourhoods are emerging, and these changes have also brought about a corresponding series of problems with social and urban development. Different researchers, in sociology, urban geography and urban planning, interpret the complex process of community change in different ways. This chapter provides a literature review of community and neighbourhood studies in the west and in China, in order to determine the potential and limitations of the research in modern-day China. It will then develop the understanding of the changes of planning from the physical to the social, specifically by discussing the emphasis of sustainability to finally develop the appraisal framework for this research.

3.1 Community change studies in the west

Community and neighbourhood changes are a complex phenomenon, and can be understood by different fields. Urban ecology uses different urban function models to summarise changes; urbanisation is the power and background of community changes. Residential communities in suburbs can also be explained by being classified in different contexts, and to solve the problems of community changes, many ideas from new urbanism have contributed to planning practice.

3.1.1 Urban ecology: market mechanisms

Researchers of urban ecology considered that urban social-economic is a bilateral process, which means that people are creating and changing the urban space, at the same time as their social activities and their daily ways of life are also profoundly influenced by space (Soja, 1985).

Since the 1930s, through three classical models of urban land use structure, the Chicago School explained the relations between urban spatial distribution and social-cultural activities (Jackson and Jackson, 1996). The Concentric Zone Model of Burgess analysed the competition and dynamic changes of different interest groups in cities; with the sector model, Hoyt found that in American housing markets, as the high-income households move out of the neighbourhoods, the lower-income groups may move into the original higher-income residential areas (Jackson and Jackson, 1996). Harris and Ullman later improved this model of urban spatial analysis and proposed the Multiple Nuclei Model, which said “even though a

city may have begun with a central business district, or CBD, other smaller CBDs develop on the outskirts of the city near the more valuable housing areas to allow shorter commutes from the outskirts of the city” (Lichtenberger, 2013).

In the 1950s, Shevky studied the characteristics and regularities of community change, in terms of households, family structure and residential location and, using the concept of "social area", analysed the spatial structure distribution and changes using indicators of family economics, family members, age structure and ethnic identity (Shevky and Williams, 1949).

In the 1980s, with an increasing number of case studies on urban social-spatial structure in the West, the research field also expanded to “change” studies over time periods, from the city level to the community level. For example, relying on the census of 1961-1981, Lo described the residential communities’ social-spatial changes in Hong Kong, and analysed the forces behind these changes (Lo, 2005). Mathieu and Jean-Michel analysed the level of gentrification at the neighbourhood level in Brussels and Montreal, and found that the urbanisation process itself is an important factor (Criekingen and Decroly, 2003).

Some researchers focused on the classification of communities, by identifying city residents from economic and social aspects. For example, Gans (1977) classified urban communities by identifying several types of city residents: cosmopolites, including students, writers, musicians and intellectuals; unmarried and childless individuals and couples; and ethnic villagers, recent migrants and members of various ethnic groups. “Grey area” is another way of describing communities in decline that were invaded by the lower social classes, with the original residents preferring to stay rather than move out as a result of their emotional ties to the locality and lack of money. Their quality of life and social status declined, but these areas became the most attractive places for the middle classes in the 1970s (Vernon, 1959).

3.1.2 Community change by urbanisation

Conventionally, villagers in villages have an agricultural-based lifestyle, and citizens in traditional urban neighbourhoods had a traditional urban life before the 1980s in China, but things changed with urbanisation. Wirth (1938) believed that urban lives are “large scale”, with multiple, diverse aims, and demonstrated that reinforcing different interest groups and diverse daily lifestyles can result in traditional communities declining, and a loss of efficiency in social interaction in this system of families, friends and neighbourhoods (Wilson, 1985).

Social scientists have focused on documenting the problems associated with urbanisation, and one of the issues is community decline (Tripp, 2013). Simply, it means that urban social life changes brought about by urbanisation will eventually seriously shake the foundation of a traditional community’s existence socially. This means that social networking and the sense of community would change in the urbanisation process, and this argument was referred to as a

“community lost” in the West (Wellman and Leighton, 1979).

Suttles (1972) described natural community as being based on the supposedly primordial solidarities of race, ethnicity, culture, or propinquity; and considered that a community is typically associated with an image of a stable, densely knit, geographically delimited community of kin and neighbours, bound together by customs, traditions, and relations of mutual support. Hence, a community is a complex mix of different kinds of social ties, activities with diverse patterns that are connected to people, space, place and territory “Loss of Community” is a concept able to describe this social problem (collapse of old social networking) resulting from the negative and comprehensive influence of urbanisation (Wellman and Leighton, 1979; Zhu, 2010).

However, Gans believed that large-scale social changes caused by urbanisation will not cause significant negative impacts on urban communities socially; but that residential communities can provide the necessary services for residents, as a secure place for them to face the outside urban world. In addition, Gans considered that a variety of factors, including family life cycle, organisations and local administrative systems, are key to understanding the diversity of community changes (Gans, 1977).

Therefore, a large number of studies on how urbanisation influences community changes have shown that the change process at the city level does not let urban community decompose or disappear, but that different communities undergo great changes, and that development is unique and different. Therefore, to understand the mechanisms behind changes in communities and neighbourhoods, we need to understand its changing process and complex background.

3.1.3 Studies on suburb communities

The suburb has been considered as a homogeneous residential area (Berger, 1960), but many researchers have found that the extent of social interaction and cohesion usually depend on the type of community. These life style, and cultural and social spaces are significantly influenced by a number of factors, including residents’ occupation, family structure, income level, and life cycle characteristics. Individuals will always pursue their life path in terms of cultural practices and social groups who share similar interests and life values. And as an analysis of community changes by Berger in 1960 showed, community differentiation and social stratification may appear in the suburbs at city levels, but produce a variety of “homogeneous” residential areas at community levels. Poor migrants aggregate in villages-in-city and landless villages, while high-income families live in villas (Li & Chen, 2007).

With regard to classification, White (1984) has divided the suburban communities of Western Europe into four types: industrial suburbs, middle-class suburbs, working class commuters' villages and new workers' suburbs. And, according to the socio-economic characteristics and social interaction of suburbia, Muller (1981) demonstrated the four categories in American suburban areas, which are middle-class communities, high-income communities, working-class communities, and cosmopolitan communities. This categorisation was based on detailed analysis of residents' structure, neighbourhood and social groups. Middle-class neighbourhoods are the main body in suburban communities, which are very different from the US suburbs.

3.1.4 Practice for improving communities and neighbourhoods

The academic, social and physical problems of urbanisation in western society include pollution, congestion, poor quality of life, water quality, and urban sprawl (Ferguson and Dickens, 2011). To address these issues, "new urbanism", as an idea in planning, was used in a series of complex projects to alleviate urban social problems, urban sprawl and unsustainable areas. It was derived from 1980s North America, and mostly focused on physical design for regeneration using traditional styles (Mayo, 1996); neo-urbanism may also be called neo-traditionalism. For example, the Ningbo local planning office proposed a concept of Traditional Neighbourhood Development (TND), which is based on finding a combination between the inspirations and modern life characteristics of traditional urban planning and design, and models of developing local characteristics and cultural atmosphere, instead of the suburbanisation development model (Gui & Mao, 2000). Hence, the aim is to cultivate a sense of community with a closer neighbourhoodship, and to enhance communities' self-identity.

The ideas of new urbanism emphasised the social life and the importance of public participation in the development of a sustainable neighbourhood (Forester, 1999; Friedmann, 1987). They advocated diversified styles of community life: the multiple urban living space of residential neighbourhoods, coordinating the relationship between living and working, beneficial to the development of community and the city itself, contributing to the formation of diverse urbanisation and landscapes (Basmajian, 2014). For example, facing the problems of urban sprawl, practical planners proposed a plan with the principle of mixed habitation, appropriate design for pedestrian size, easily accessible neighbourhood centres, and diversified housing and constructions. By changing the architectural forms and public space, and emphasising residential mixtures and accessible public facilities, they achieved equalised usage among dwellers and connections between the residents and the facilities (Yang, 2008).

But it may also be pointed out that this methodology focuses too much on physical space being changed by architectural forms, with less consideration given to social and institutional

ways (Suttles, 1972). The idea of using traditional architectural forms to solve all the problems is questionable (Ferguson and Dickens, 2011), because the traditional architectural forms and street layout of neighbourhoods are very likely to have been separated from the existing social space and community life. At least, the planning practices in communities and neighbourhoods showed that there is no evidence of the necessary link between social organisation and physical space.

3.2 Community studies in China

Research on community studies in modern China lacked attention to specific background understanding, but situation has been changing in present day China since the accumulation of experience of planning practice of new urban theories (from the West), and more researcher have started concerning the comprehensive influence of institutional changes on economic, social, cultural and residential changes in transitional China (Jiang and Lin 2004; Zhao, 2003).

3.2.1 Planning practice in China

When “new urbanism” was initially introduced to China in the early 1990s, it was as an advertising gimmick rather than a new concept in planning practice. Gradually, as these urban theories from the West have been studies and practice in a number of real estate projects, it also achieved the corresponding results in China’s context. In terms of practice, through the inspiration of “the combination of closed neighbourhoods and communities open”, some new residential projects, for example, the Four Seasons neighbourhood in Shenzhen and Anting New Town in Shanghai, were implemented. Their aim was to coordinate the relations between communities and city, residential and daily life, and to realise the integration of residential, commercial, administrative, entertainment and social functions (Yang, 2008). The diversified forms of architecture in walkable neighbourhoods also contain a wide range of jobs: mechanical engineers, shop assistants, builders, cleaners, domestic helpers, and photographers, so the basic practical principles, such as “diversified” “walkable” and “traditional design”, are all key ideas of “new urbanism”, to contribute to building a friendly and ecological neighbourhood.

Concerning China’s context, it has moved a further step in the practice of “new urbanism”. For example, Zhou (2009) proposed “downsizing dwelling units, and moving partly public facilities from the current residential area, into the secondary sub-district level, to enrich the community life and social interactions”, which suggested establishing a secondary sub-district-level government to achieve the traditional and diversification of neighbourhood life in China’s context.

Overall, the practice of solving urban problems was based on new urbanism, which emphasises traditional and diverse life, but there was a lack of discussion of the forces behind the problems in neighbourhood development. There is still little research on cases studies and the mechanisms analysis of urban and community changes, although an increasing number of projects have been implemented recently in China.

3.2.2 Social and institutional changes

Institutional changes are the dominant force of China's social transformation, and urban and communities' changes. The function, forms and structure of urban and rural communities have undergone significant changes since 1980, becoming a basic unit of urban and rural society (Xie, 2002). Also numerous studies link communities' changes to urban social-economic changes. For example, Ye (2001) considered community development as a community change process under certain planning, since community changes are the historical product of China's socialist market economy development. Guo (2003) discussed community changes from the perspective of social stratification, and considered that communities of social differentiation would significantly accelerate in transitional China (Guo, 2003).

Regarding China's rural communities' changes, researchers have different emphasis, but deal with very limited topics. Zhu (2001) believed that rural communities drift between "administration" and "socialization", although the market economy has profoundly changed communities in terms of the environment, the economy and social aspects. Zheng and Shao (2007) reviewed the social changes in modern China since the 1990s, and considered that cultural transformation is the breakthrough of community changes in current China. Some community research has focused on the changes before the reform and opening up in 1978. For example, Li (2009) studied the coerciveness of economic and social institutional policies by China's governments, and reported that they had had a comprehensive influence on rural community changes since 1950.

However, research on urban and rural community changes of transitional China are fragmented and lack quantitative analysis, resulting in less studies on the whole picture of communities' changes at a city level. For example, discussing only the administrative changes in central and local government can hardly reflect the details of community governance changes and the extent of participation. Moreover, most researchers have focused more on a community in a certain time, which cannot reflect the continuous changes of diverse communities and neighbourhoods in cities.

3.3 From a planning perspective

To study a changing community, it is necessary to understand the concept of “sustainability” and how it has evolved in different contexts over periods of time. On the basis of understanding sustainability, this part therefore simply reviews the changing of planning in communities.

3.3.1 *Understanding sustainability*

Sustainability is one of the most important contemporary and common goals of urban development policies for many countries (Berke and Conroy, 2000; Chan & Lee, 2008). In fact, the concept of sustainability originated in the context of renewable resources such as forests or fisheries, and has subsequently been adopted as a broad slogan by the environmental movement (Lele, 1988). Sustainability had been defined as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs in the Brundtland Commission (1987). Here it clearly shows the content, emphasising the physical and ecological parts rather than the social and cultural parts.

Nevertheless, many of the definitions are broad and try to extend the definition beyond the environmental dimensions. Bakur & Cheen (2013) argued that “the efforts of sustainability practices embrace the rigorous use of the scarce natural resources through a good implementation of economy but without neglecting the environment and social factors”. So the concept also includes the social and economic parts, and there is no single definition of sustainability, although there is a general level of acceptance through the diverse interpretations (Coupland, 2005).

Sustainability is also an adaptable concept. By reviewing published English-language texts of sustainable development documents, policy and reports in the last decades, the Scottish Executive listed eight topics related to sustainable development: “Food, Sustainable procurement, Sustainable consumption, Green jobs and business enterprise, The built environment, Environmental protection, Education for sustainable development, Environmental justice” (Scotland Office of the Chief Researcher, 2005). It concluded that in order to develop the Scottish policy of sustainable development, besides analysis of policies and academic documents, “the systematic research of institutional and organisational systems, delivery pathways and behavioural responses” would be needed (SOCR, 2005). This means that it is necessary to conduct the field study before defining the working concept, as each of their semantics are different in diverse contexts.

However, there are some contradictions of the concept of sustainability. The idea of sustainability is used and interpreted in many different ways. Let us go back to the original

question: What does sustainability mean? Some argued that it is just “another development truism” (Redclift, 2002), while Lele (1988) gave the example of “sustainability” being understood as “ecological sustainability”, which is a conceptualisation of sustainable development as a process change that adds the ecological to its developing objectives. The aim of this concept is to maintain development rather than to protect the environment. As Davis and Schirmer (1987) described, the high rates of growth in agricultural production in South Asia have been considered as a misleading usage of the idea: Sustainable Development. Therefore, “sustainability” has been synonymously misunderstood as “sustaining growth” in these cases.

In addition, there are those who think that “it is supposed to be a sustainable one if the implementation of the project could be beneficial to the grassroots or all kinds of public”. For example, Barbier (1987) explained that “the truly economic development requires tailoring the design and implementation of projects to the need and capabilities of people who are supposed to benefit from them”. Such a statement tells us nothing about the future of the developing process.

Although a paradoxical concept, there is a certain consensus over certain characteristics of sustainability after several international conferences, the interpretation of issued policies and studies in the academic literature. Based on the above analysis of literature, the characteristics of the concept of “sustainability” can be summarised as four points: (1). It always contains the three aspects of “physical”, “social” and “cultural” no matter in what contexts; (2). The logic of sustainable development is to consider a community is a complex system rather than a isolated area; (3) It has more cornering about “balance” of social, economic and environment, instead of focusing on a certain thing or single direction, for example, it would not only focus on saving time to finish a project but also balancing the local ecology system. (4) The definition also varies according to the contexts and circumstances.

3.3.2 The changing emphasis in planning

From the perspective of residential move in transitional China, researchers of planning summarized the community change as three phases: moving out of old residential areas, staying in the rent housing and resettlement neighbourhoods, then moving into new commercial-residential communities (Wang 2002).

The definition of community sustainability has been different over different periods. From a literature review of planning, Kallus and Law-Yone (1997) summarised the eight domains under sustainable neighbourhoods: management, healing, welfare, association, order, participation, identity and meaning. These may not represent the whole sustainable picture of neighbourhoods, but they are the basic elements frequently repeated in the related literature. The factors of “healing” and “welfare” reflect sustainable neighbourhoods and are able to

provide a good basic guarantee of residents' physical and daily life. The parts of "management" and "order" are those elements that can also be considered as the effective management unit of urban administrative systems, and the words "association", "participation", "identity" and "meaning" strong express the importance of social cohesion and residents' involvement in local community development.

Table 3.1 The phases in planning

<i>Phases</i>	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
<i>Maslow's hierarchy</i>	Physiological	Safety	Love/Belonging	Esteem	Self-actualisation
<i>Planning ideas</i>	Functional	Pragmatic	Neo-Humanistic		Essential

Source: Based on He & Liu (2004), 2015; Kallus and Law-Yone (1997)

From the above analysis, it seems that the neighbourhood sustainable factors match Maslow's hierarchy of needs of different stages. As He & Liu (2004) described, the five stages of Maslow's hierarchy are "Physiological, Safety, Love/Belonging, Esteem and Self-actualisation", and the neighbourhood planning ideas start with "Functional phase", "Pragmatic phase", the "Neo-Humanistic phase", and finally the "Essential phase". Actually, these different phases of analysis are from Kallus and Law-Yone (1997), who also realised that neighbourhoods are changing in terms of their connotation and realistic significance. The "functional phase" emphasises the urban management of urban development and resources; the "pragmatic phase" is concerned with standard living criteria, including the medical and welfare system; the "neo-humanistic phase" cares more about participation and communicative planning, and provides self-identity and social networking in the final phase, the "Essential phase", which mainly talks about identity and the sense of community.

It can be seen that, in periods, the need for developing the neighbourhood varies from efficiency urban management, increased stakeholders' participation in planning, to residents who are looking for self-identity. It seems that pursuing emotion and individual identity is the trend of neighbourhood development. However, Kallus & Law-Yone (1997) critiqued that if too much focus is placed on the establishment of ideology and communities, rather than building the physical space and modifying the management system, then it might make little sense to explore neighbourhood planning.

Neighbourhoods have been the focus of urban researchers and planners for a long time, and the close analysis of its meaning reveals that the concept is always closely linked to the circumstances, the connotations of which change over time. Beyond satisfying physical planning quality and the convenience of daily life, neighbourhood development needs social security and self-identity, as well as social cohesion in the community, so it is a fundamentally dynamic and variable concept.

3.4 The gaps of community and neighborhood studies

3.4.1 Current research on China's neighbourhoods

Scholars have analysed the characteristics of spatial structure and the infrastructure allocation of residential space at metropolitan and city levels (Liu, 2009), and discussed the spatial distribution and evolution of the new urban poverty residential areas (Zhang, 2006; Liu, 2006; Yuan & Xue, 2008; Chen & Gu, 2004). However, there is less analysis of the emergence, social transition and characteristics of these residential spaces and the neighbourhoods of socially disadvantaged groups. From the aspect of poverty study, Liu (2004) subdivided the living space of Chinese poverty groups through a discussion of housing differentiation in Guangzhou, but the target groups did not include immigrant workers. Yuan (2006) mentioned the characteristics of residential spatial structure and distribution, but without much detail at the neighbourhood level.

Most current studies focus on the analysis of spatial characteristics and the mechanisms of social imbalance in urban transition, but there is less research at the neighbourhood level, based on individual data collection (Wang, 2010; Guo, 2007). For instance, Wang (2010) studied residential spatial structure during institutional changes in Shanghai at the city level, but his research hardly touches upon the whole picture of the mechanisms formed and the factors influencing poor urban residential space, and fails to consider the combination of different geographical levels. On the basis of socio-spatial dialectic theory, qualitative research of the housing market and quantitative study of residential spatial differentiation, Dou (2011) analysed the influencing factors of residential differentiation to urban social-economic development at the opposite ends of the spectrum. However, the study was more focused on a static analysis and description, and less on the dynamic study of residential spatial distribution and evolution in a typical period.

3.4.2 Planning and implementation lacking studies on social changes

Problems such as social imbalance, and poor housing conditions and residential environments, emerged in neighbourhoods with the rapid development of the market economy from the 1980s, while urban planning practices and regeneration did not work for three main reasons. Firstly, traditional planning in China focuses on upgrading the physical space, including housing quality, community facilities, ecology and the living environment (Wang, 2009), which have significantly improved over the past decades. However, less consideration is given to the motivation behind the new social demands and problems, especially in the complex context of social stratification, housing differentiation, new urban poverty and the increasing flow of migrant workers. Secondly, because of the lack of valid references and

research support on social imbalance, economic restructure and institutional changes in neighbourhood changes, the current planning and policy formulation has less workable functions for the changed targets (Wang, 2009). This means that the guidance and principles of planning regulation cannot fully satisfy the needs of planning and implementation in today's China. Thirdly, neighbourhood planning and community development are mainly operated in a top-down manner in modern China (Chen, 2002), and the lack of genuine participation may result in a gap between the decisions taken and the residents' demands. Hence, the question arises, 'How, by evaluating the problems and analysing changes at the neighbourhood level, may the results contribute to planning, practice and policy making?'

3.4.3 The ways to evaluate the social-economic changes of communities

An appraisal framework could be considered as an indicator-based approach for community change assessment, as used by many scholars. For example, Hemphill (2004) developed an appraisal framework for improving economic well-being; the tool can also be recognised in the latest generation of impact assessment tools, such as the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), the original of which is from 1969 (Shepard, 2005; Turner, 1998), and the Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA), both of which have been widely used for evaluating Policies, Plans and Programs (PPPs) (Therivel, 2004).

However, as an effective approach, it has been developed differently to meet the various contexts. For example, at a city level, Winston (2010) considered the location, construction and design, use and regeneration as the key characteristics of sustainable housing in Dublin since the 1980s. Japan designed the CASBEE for rating urban areas and buildings (Bakar and Cheen, 2013) and there are a large number of studies at the district level using the indicator-based approach (Cheng & Lin, 2011; Hemphill & Berry, 2004; Williams & Dair, 2007; Boyko, 2012), as well as the single construction-level (Blum, 2007; Hurley & Horne, 2006). As Sharifi & Murayama (2013) argued, "there is lack of attention and experience on the intermediate level of urban neighbourhoods". Therefore, it is necessary to use a new community-level appraisal framework, covering the details of individual life changes, in order to build up a series of whole pictures describing neighbourhoods' changing stories in transitional China. The details of the appraisal framework used in this study will be provided in Chapter Three and Four.

3.4.4 This study focus on the community level

Most of the research in residential areas is at the macro level (city level) (Wang, 2011; Yuan, 2007; He, 2004; Dou, 2011; Huang, 2004; Li, 2012). In the context of socio-economic transition and institutional changes, China's urban and rural residential areas are in profound and rapid change. A variety of factors and mechanisms intertwined and evolved together,

resulting in irreversible changes in communities, neighbourhoods and villages, from simple to complex. For example, through the analysis of three cases in Shanghai, it was found that since the 1980s the form of Danwei communities has been gradually broken up, and land use structure and the industrial, residential and commercial functions have comprehensively changed. For example, middle- and low-income households have moved to the urban fringe, with residential density decreasing from the city centre to the periphery (Wang, 2011).

However, this hardly reflects the details of social and residential changes at the city level. One of the issues is that planning practice is based on understanding the research target, otherwise it barely touches the practical problems in residential and individual daily life. For example, Yuan (2006) mentioned an anti-poverty project; the establishment of employment centres may reduce poverty by providing job opportunities, but this should be based on pre-research at a community level, on local resident population structure, household income level and economic structure, as well as the administrative system and community organisations, in order to ensure that the changes match the target groups and their needs exactly.

This does not mean that analysis at a city level is unnecessary, but research on socio-economic characteristics, the evolution process and mechanisms at a city level not only clearly describes the dynamic pictures of the residential, population and social changes of the target location, Ningbo, but also offers a better understanding of the relationship between the phenomena and the causes behind them (urbanisation, institutional and administrative change). More importantly, it provides the research background and foundation for comprehensive changes in communities-level.

3.5 Summary: the research content and an appraisal framework

Community change is a complex phenomenon with administrative, social and economic aspects. It is a complex system, containing comprehensive issues, such as residential structure, jobs and income levels, residential pattern, participation, NOGs' development, sense of community, social cohesion and administrative structure. It therefore requires an appraisal framework to cover these issues in order to understand this complex process.

3.5.1 From physical to social

Since German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies (1887) in the book "Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft", it had been the focus by the academic world in diverse perspectives (Gerhardt, 1998). As the analysis above, the connotation of sustainable neighbourhoods always changes over the periods, it has different meanings of different contexts. It focused on physical space and architecture forms initially, then changed to building public facilities, medical and educational infrastructure, and in "Neo-humanistic phase" is more cares about the participation and communicative planning.

As the analysis showed that researches of communities are in different perspectives, new urbanism focused on explaining the residential and social problems from architectural forms and public space design, and tried to bring the goods from traditional planning; urban ecology had a large amount of analysis on land use structure and social changes, and considered that market mechanisms are the dominant force of community changes. Community planning emphasises the social parts of community development, and how to involve the public participation are the key issues. So, community studies are varied in different angles as above demonstration.

However, to carry out a systematic research of communities and neighbourhood changes in transitional China, it does needs a framework of evaluation and indicators.

3.5.2 The appraisal framework in this research

Frameworks based on sustainable development and political economy have been widely adopted for analysing the conditions in communities, populations and environments (Maser, Beaton and Smith, 1998; Redclift, 2002). In a sustainable development context, the details of social-spatial changes and problems in community development have been explored by these frameworks (Godschalk, 2004; Ferris, Norman, and Sempik, 2002; Leach, Mearns, and Scoones, 1997; Barbier, 1987). Clarifying the details of urban and rural community changes is pivotal to understanding why and how the community and neighbourhood are changing, and particularly the links between macro-level forces and the specific process of social-economic changes of rural communities.

As the above literature review shows, there are many definitions and different understandings of community sustainable development and community changes in social science, but the contents can always be summarised into social, environmental and economic perspectives (Maser, Beaton and Smith, 1998; Godschalk, 2004; Davis, and Schirmer, 1987; Li, 2013; Friedmann, 2010) (see Figure 3.2).

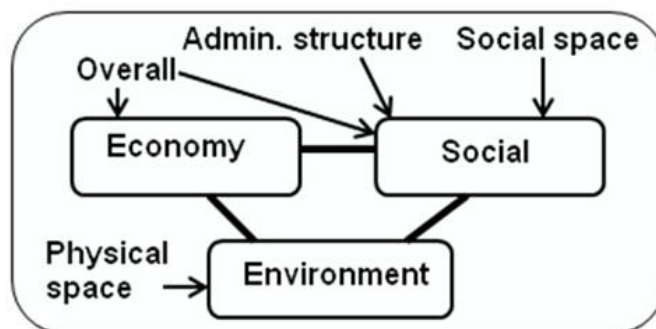


Figure 3.1 Original framework of communities studies.

Source: Based on research framework and sustainable development, 2015

In this paper, the studies on communities' changes can be put into four sections: overall neighbourhood, physical space, social space and administrative structure (Figure 3.1), and each section belong to one perspective. For example, overall belongs to economy and social,

and physical space is covered in environment.

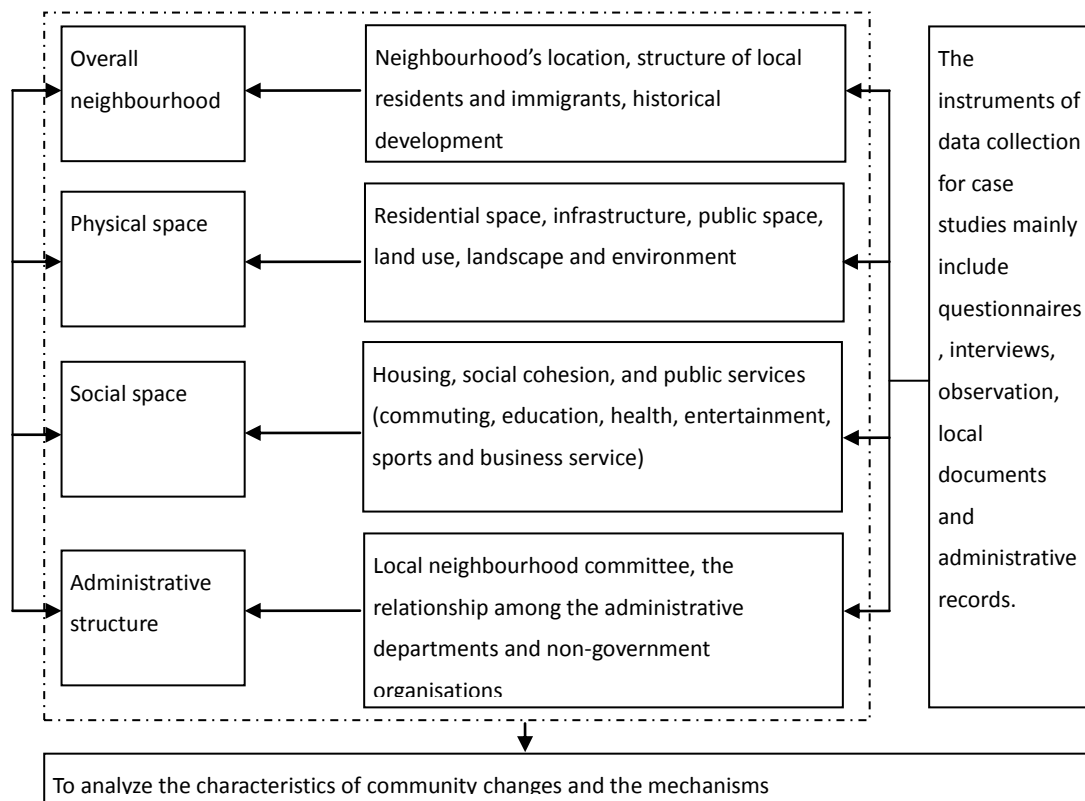


Figure 3.2 The framework of neighbourhood studies.

Source: Based on author's research framework, 2015

This original framework (see Figure 3.2) has been developed in more detail (see Figure 3.1) to cover the content of community change research. For example, “social space” includes housing, social cohesion, and public services (commuting, education, health, entertainment, sports and business service) (Figure 3.2), which all belong to “social”. Hence, these four perspectives can cover the main contents of community change studies.

Part II Design of the methodology of the case studies

Chapter Four: Methodology of the case study

This chapter aims to design the case studies and field work based on the appraisal framework for collecting quantitative and qualitative data. Firstly it discusses the case studies and study scope, the choice of cases, the geographical level, and the general strategy of data collection. It then develops the details of the appraisal framework for community studies in this research, including the specific information of the four domains, and main indicators and sub-indicators, in order to design the details of data collection in terms of questionnaires, observations, desk-working, and interviews. It also describes the data analysis for this research. Lastly, it discusses other possibilities of data collection and the sources of secondary data.

4.1 The case studies

Induction, deduction and verification for the research

In social science research, it is commonplace to use deduction and induction as the major methods of reasoning. *Deductive reasoning*, as logical inference and constraint solving, moves from general rules to specific conclusions (Seshia, 2011). Inductive reasoning, works the other way around, moving from specific cases studies to broader generalisations and theories. Seshia (2011) argued that because pure deductive reasoning is inefficient and gives no guarantees, the better approach is to combine induction, deduction and verification. Here we begin by looking at how each of the approaches has been formed in this study.

This project comprises three major sections: conceptualisation by literature review, cases studies and best practice through the appraisal framework. In sub-section three of the first section, deduction was used to generate an appraisal framework for urban neighbourhoods in transitional China based on the critical review of neighbourhood theories.

The roles of induction and verification are rather clearer. Chapter nine uses induction to understand mechanisms behind the ever-changing characteristics through case studies on three communities in China. As the research has continued, the new theoretical positions have been explored in order to develop a theoretical framework combining China's urban planning, in order to test other cases in the process of verification. This is the general logic framework, and it is important to review the research structure before discussing the details of the case studies in terms of field scope, data collection and analysis approaches.

4.2 Cases studies and study scope

Why Ningbo was chosen as the case study has already been explained in Chapter One. Here we shall discuss the case study selection in more detail, including why this research needs a case study, how to conduct the case study, and the spatial levels and neighbourhood level that will be selected.

4.2.1 *The choice of case studies*

Mason (2002) contended that experiments, histories, surveys and the analysis of archival information are ways of conducting social science work, and she pointed out that: “*Case studies are the preferred strategy when “how” or “why” questions are being posed.*” Case studies are chosen in this case as the research aim is “how to analyse the characteristics of socio-spatial changes at the neighbourhood level in Ningbo between the 1980s and 2010s”.

Five components of case studies have been proposed by Yin (2003):

(1) *The research question*: the case study strategy is more appropriate for “how” and “why” questions. (2) *The study propositions*: each proposition directs the thinking to something that should be examined within the scope of study. (3) *Unit of analysis*: the unit of analysis could be neighbourhoods in Ningbo, which are related to the initial research questions. (4) *Logic linking data to propositions*: One of the usual ways is to use the data to match the research patterns, to see how the patterns match, as described by Campbell (1975) – “Whereby several pieces of information from the same case may be related to some theoretical proposition.” (5) *The criteria for interpreting a study’s findings*: how to explain the data analysis results in theory. For example, based on an evaluation of residential changes in Yongjiang communities, it can be revealed how social moves are related to accommodation selections by migrant workers in their life cycle. Therefore, the case study is a suitable strategy for this research.

The hierarchical and multiple-case study

Although the case study as a strategy is used in many disciplines, such as psychology, sociology, political and social science, there is a common misconception that research should be implemented hierarchically. Many social science scholars believe that case studies and experiments are only appropriate for the exploratory and explanatory phases (Shavelson & Townes, 2002). This idea imposes limits on case studies in social science, but there are some case studies which, although not organised hierarchically from the highest to the lowest level, are nevertheless still very valuable. For example, the “Street Corner Society” described an Italian sub-culture slum in Boston in the 1930s (Whyte, 1943). After more than seventy years, the achievements from Whyte’s work, such as the community characteristics, social structure and individual social habits, are still referenced by many papers in academic journals.

It is important to discuss why we need multiple cases instead of other models, before we present more details of the selected neighbourhoods. Yin (2012) indicates that a case study usually contains a single-case or multiple-case design, and argued that the multiple-case design is more worthwhile than the single-case study. Multiple cases allow the researcher to apply more methods by using a variety of resources to conduct the investigation, consequently increasing the reliability and validity of the data for research.

However, most social-spatial research focuses on the city level by using census data, ignoring the individual situation of the use of local facilities, the sense of community, the extent of administrative participation; however field study at the neighbourhood level touches upon the problems.

Table 4.1 shows the framework of geographical levels, including the three cases of Ningbo metropolitan areas, respectively in downtown, urban fringe and outskirts have been selected for the field study.

4.2.2 Research focus on community level

The focus of the case studies is at the community level, but background research on changes at the Ningbo city level is also necessary. An introduction to the Ningbo region and research scope will be provided in Chapter 5.

The three case studies were selected mainly due to their different types and location, respectively downtown, on the urban fringe and on the outskirts (Table 4.1).

Wenchang community (文昌社区) includes five neighbourhoods: three commercial-residential neighbourhoods built in the 2000s, one resettlement neighbourhood and one local traditional neighbourhood.

Yongjiang Communities (甬江社区) has two half-land-acquisition villages, one resettled neighbourhood, and one residential neighbourhood of university-staff apartments.

Shangshao village (上邵村) is an industry-oriented “new village” which was resettled since 2006 locally; migrant dwellers account for over half of the total resident population.

Table 4.1 The sites of field studies in Ningbo

<i>Geographical levels</i>	<i>Areas' location</i>	<i>Field cases</i>
<i>City level</i>	Ningbo	Metropolitan: Downtown and suburbs
<i>Community level</i>	Urban centre	文昌社区 Wenchang community
	Urban fringe	甬江村 Yongjiang Village
	Outskirts	上邵村 Shangshao Village

Source: Based on research field studies plan, 2015

At the beginning phase of the field studies, questionnaires and interviews were piloted in the Wenchang community, in order to modify the design based on the gaps that were discovered in practice. For example, there was a need for another questionnaire designed for migrant workers, since the migrants and local resident population have very different jobs and income levels.

Wenchang community (文昌社区)

Wenchang community is in downtown urban Ningbo, and its major changing characteristic is from the Danwei community to the commercial-residential communities since the 1980s. And the traditional residential parts within Wenchang have partly changed into resettlement six-floor apartments; the remaining parts have not changed until today, but as an increasing number of migrant workers have moved in since the early 2000s, local young locals have gradually moved out. In this process, the significant changes are in infrastructure, public services, facilities, residential structure, social cohesion and administrative models.

Yongjiang Communities (甬江村)

Yongjiang communities include two half-landless villages, a local resettlement neighbourhood and Ningbo University staff residential areas. As urbanisation extension in the suburbs in terms of the “university town”, the student community grew. This attracted a significant number of rural migrant workers who moved in, attracted by job opportunities created by the service economy (of students market) and labour-intensive industries developing in suburb and construction needs.

Shangshao Village (上邵村)

Since the initial industrialisation from the early 1990s, Shangshao village has changed dramatically from a traditional village based on agriculture to the non-agriculture style, in terms of housing forms, population structure, and social and economic structure.

The difficulties of collecting data are different in these cases. For example, to describe the whole picture of communities and villages changes it is necessary to interview the local old residents, because only they know the details of history. However, to interview these target groups is not so easy, and quite possibly needs the help of the local CC. It is also hard to interview the residents living in the high-rise flats of Wenchang community, simply because they seldom go out of this physical space. And it is also very difficult to interview the villagers who moved out from the village areas after the village lands' acquisition.

4.2.3 The data collection strategy

Regarding the working process of data collection and analysing, Strauss (1987) mentioned that it comprises thinking, going to the field, observing, interviewing, note taking and analysing.

The strategies– the multiple sources of evidence

As Yin (2003) argued, any sources, such as surveys, experiments or histories, have limitations. For instance, histories are limited to events in the “dead” past and have little contemporary sources of evidence. So, multiple sources of evidence are the best choice for a study. However, there are difficulties with doing this, and one of the reasons is that it imposes a great burden,

hinted at earlier, on the researcher or other investigators during the field study (Yin, 2003, pp. 99). Therefore, many graduates only focus on one type of data collection. Therefore, it is crucial to carefully design the data collection method at the beginning, not only because it is less expensive, but also to know how to carry out the full variety of data collection techniques.

And more importantly, the advantage of using multiple sources of evidence is to develop converging lines of inquiry, a process of triangulation (Basu, Dirsmith and Gupta, 1999). Yin (2003) conducted a case study of the federal government's audit agency, and the case study used an impressive array of sources of evidence, including an extended period of observations, diaries, interviews of 55 persons, reviews of historical accounts, public records, administrators' personal files, and news articles, all triangulated on the same set of research questions.

The details of how the multiple sources of evidence have been designed for this project will be discussed in sections 4.32 and 4.33.

Collection of past and current data

Obviously, it will be a challenge to describe the communities' changes based on first-hand data, since only a few old residents have experienced the local changes. Hence, the strategy is emphasize the details and findings of the current situation, but to briefly describe the main characteristics of the social and economic changes of the past. Table 4.2 concisely illustrates the major multiple resources.

Table 4.2 The structure of major multiple resources

Resources	Objects	Methods	Focus on past or present
Questionnaires	Local residents	Quantitative	Today's neighbourhoods
Interviews	Community Committee; Local residents; Researchers	Qualitative Qualitative Qualitative	The changes and current communities and neighbourhoods
Observation	Neighbourhoods	Qualitative	Today's physical space
Historical records	Three cases	Qualitative	The historical development and current communities and neighbourhoods

Source: Based on research data collection plan, 2015

The data regarding today's communities will be gathered through questionnaires and interviews, including interviewing the limited number of old locals about their living experience in daily life, and the local Community Committee or local Village Committee. The following section presents the design of the data collection for the study of community changes.

4.3 The design for data collection

Quantitative and qualitative research will be combined in this thesis. The main task of quantitative research is to collect data about current communities, and the latter is mainly used for the analysis of the communities' past.

According to Patton (1987), there are four types of triangulation when carrying out evaluations:

1. *Of data sources (data triangulation);*
2. *Among different evaluators (investigator triangulation);*
3. *Of perspectives on the same data set (theory triangulation);*
4. *Of methods (methodological triangulation);*

Here we mainly use the first of the four types, collecting information from multiple sources, aiming to corroborate the same phenomenon:

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To explain the data collection process explicitly, it produced (Figure 4.1) showing the triangulation from multiple sources of evidence:

- *Overall neighbourhood* – data is gathered mainly by questionnaires and supplemented by second hand data of yearbook and annual reports;
- *Physical space* – data is gathered mainly by observation and supplemented by desktop;
- *Social space* – data is gathered mainly by questionnaires and supplemented by interviews;
- *Administrative structure* – data is gathered by interviewing the local neighbourhood committee and old residents, supplemented by desktop working.

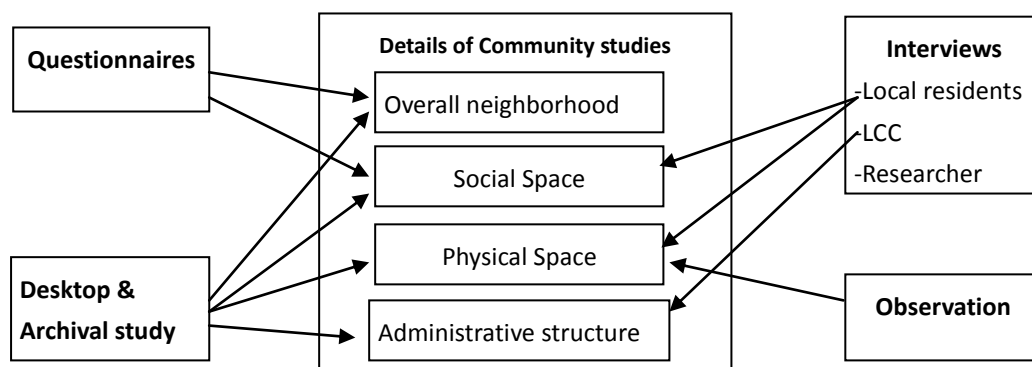


Figure 4.1: The multiple sources of evidence.

Source: Based on author's field studies and appraisal framework, 2015

Table 4.3 is the appraisal framework of community changes for this paper. It has 4 domains, 11 categories and two sub-categories, which are developed by the above analysis and literature review.

Table 4.3 The appraisal framework of community studies

Categories	Sub-categories	Chang.	Quest.	Inter.	O.	Desk.
Overall neighbourhood						
Personal	Gender, age, education		✓	✓		
	Marriage, Hukou		✓	✓		
Family structure	Number of members; who are they?	✓	✓	✓		
Occupation	Occupation, income, working hours	✓	✓	✓		
	Sources of jobs, job changing, locations	✓	✓	✓		
Big events of Neighbourhoods	Housing reforms, land use	✓		✓		✓
	Demolition and subsidy	✓		✓		✓
Social space						
Housing	Location, time, types, source	✓	✓	✓		
	Living area, resident density, facilities	✓	✓	✓		
	Reasons for selection	✓	✓	✓		
	Housing demolition and resettlement	✓	✓	✓		
Social service	Schools, vehicles and commuting	✓	✓	✓		
	Shopping and consumption	✓	✓	✓		
	Entertainment, sports and social activities	✓	✓	✓		
Social cohesion	Community activities, relation to neighbours	✓	✓	✓		
	Participation of planning and management	✓	✓	✓		
Physical space						
Infrastructure	Activity, residential and business space,	✓		✓	✓	✓
	Public buses and commuting	✓		✓	✓	✓
Environment	Land use, landscape and pollution	✓		✓	✓	✓
Administrative structure						
Communities	Today's and historical communities	✓		✓		✓
LCC	The function and structure of current CC	✓		✓		✓
	Development and changes of CC	✓		✓		✓

Abbreviation: Chang. = Changes over time Inter. =Interview O. =Observation

Quest. = Questionnaires Desk. = Desktop/ Archival Research

Source: Based on research framework and data collection plan, 2015

It also describes the data collection method for specific categories and sub-categories. For example, in the category of “occupation” covers the changes and current situations, both by questionnaires and interviews. This means that it is necessary to know information about jobs and income in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s so that it can be reflected in the questionnaire design. The data on “physical space” can be collected by observation and archival research.

4.4 Qualitative study

It is important to mention grounded theory, on the premise that theory at various levels of generality is indispensable for deeper knowledge of social phenomena (Glaser and Strauss, 2012; Glaser, 1978). As methodological guidelines and theoretical sampling, the grounded theory offers an effective way of carrying out qualitative analysis systematically and consistently. Strauss (1987) stated that grounded theory is based on a concept-indicator model, which directs the conceptual coding of a set of empirical indicators.

In this research, the major qualitative approach is the interview. This section gives a whole picture of the interview structure, respectively discussing the interview designs, the data collection, topics, procedures and the analysis. As mentioned above, it was suggested to all of the interviewees that they should finish the questionnaires before starting the interviews. This is also very helpful for the interviewers, as data collection of interviews only needs to cover the remaining categories in Table 4.3: “*Administrative Restructure*” and “*Physical Space*”.

4.4.1 The outline of the interviews

Table 4.4 illustrates the outline of the interviews. Interviewees will be different: researchers (researchers of NBU); local administrative organisations (CC or VC); and local residents (including migrant workers).

Table 4.4: The detailed outline of the interviews

<i>Interviewees</i>	Main categories	No.	Purposes	Aim
<i>Old settlers</i>	The changes of family structure, housing quality and occupation	12	Neighbourhood's historical narrative	To examine the changes of urban and rural communities in transitional China
	Family's main events since the 1980s			
<i>Local community Committees</i>	Historical narrative of the neighbourhood	3	Administrative changes	
	The changes of administrative function and structure of LCC			
<i>Urban researchers of NBU</i>	The potential challenges in data collection	3	Suggestions for workable ways in data collection	
	The suggestions and techniques of gathering data workable			

Source: Based on research framework and data collection plan, 2015

Table 4.4 shows how the data from the interviews covers the three categories of Table 4.3. The purpose of interviewing old settlers is to examine the “*neighbourhood historical narrative*” responding to the category of “*community changes*”; the “*administrative changes*” correspond to “*administrative restructure*”; and the category of “*physical space*” can be

reflected in “*historical narrative of the neighbourhood*”. So finally all of the purposes of the collected data serve the research aim: “*To examine the changes of urban and rural community in transitional China*”.

In total, eighteen interviews were arranged for each case. Three were with urban researchers of NBU, who can provide valuable information in terms of the challenges of gathering data and how to avoid these difficulties. For example, they can advise which language is the most efficient to communicate with locals, how to communicate to the local authorities, and make suggestions for data collection and analysis based on their academic experience.

Three out of the eighteen interviews were with members of local Community Committees, which are the only major local administrative organisation in charge of diverse resource allocations and the management of planning. They are also able to provide contact details for old original settlers and valuable documents of local historical records (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5: The outline of the interviews

	The outline
Ways of Contact:	Local authorities: Using a University introduction letter local residents: Collective interviews and one-to-one interview
The Interviewees	Local residents: old residents, new residents, graduates, and migrants Researchers: They are from Ningbo University (NBU) Local admin. Organisations: Local CC or VC
Key topic	The main topics varied with the interviewees.
Discussion topics	Local dwellers: Housing, participation, jobs and income CC: Administration, social activities and resource allocation Local residents: Factors of livability, local development process
Record	Pen and paper; smart phone
Interpretation	Logically list the viewpoints, reflections and basic analysis

Source: Based on research framework and data collection plan, 2015

Twelve of the selected interviewees were residents in the three cases. The interviewees were respectively two old residents (who were over 50 years old) and two new residents in Wenchang community. In the Yongjiang community, there were two old residents and two tenants (one was a new graduate and the other one was occupied in a local small business). There were also two old residents and two migrant workers (one was over 45 years old and a first-generation immigrant worker, and the other one was under 30 years old and second-generation) from Shanghao Village. Moreover, the old residents, as original settlers, must know the details of local development, which can be reflected by their family’s significant events since the 1980s, and obviously the emphasis of the questions was designed differently for each decade between the 1980s and the 2010s (Table 4.5).

Here it is important to discuss the details for effective data analysis.

4.4.2 The details of the interview design

Different interviewees can provide valuable information on different perspectives, and they need suitable procedures for data collection because of their different degrees of accessibility and the emphasis on different subjects.

Interview – the local old residents

Table 4.6 shows the main categories of the interviewed local residents: “*The changes of family structure, housing quality and occupation*”, and “*Family’s big events since the 1980s*”.

Table 4.6 The categories of interviewed local residents

Sub-category	Under the core category	The different emphases of topics over periods		
Family changes		80s	90s	00s
<i>Family changes</i>	Family size, details of members and family life cycle	The living quality and r housing source	The urbanisation, demolition, rebuilding and housing reform	The immigrant workers and regenerations in communities and neighbourhoods
<i>Family property changes</i>	The major consumption, housing, vehicles and social connections			
Housing changes				
<i>Housing source</i>	The system of housing supply			
<i>Area, facility, types, location</i>	The changes on quality of life			
<i>Living cost of income</i>	Changes of social classes			
Occupation changes				
<i>Types and source</i>	Changes of market supply			
<i>Income</i>	Changes of Stratum			
Strategy: the neighbourhood changes can be reflected by the family’s big events.				

Source: Based on research framework and data collection plan, 2015

According to the reflections of Dr. Qiao, urban researcher of the Environmental School, Ningbo University, an efficient strategy (Table 4.5) for collecting data is to interview the local residents on topics of “your family’s big events”, including what the event was, how it happened, and how it influenced your family life, since individual experiences are the best vivid description of real history.

In addition, to concisely and effectively guiding the discussion with local residents, the emphases of topics are differently designed for each decade (Table 4.6): *The living conditions* in 1980s, *the Urbanisation and Housing Reform* in 1990s, and *the Migrant Workers and Regenerations* in 2000s. Therefore the changes in individual lives and family may effectively reflect the neighbourhood history.

Interview – Local Community Committee (CC)

The interview with members of the local CC focused on two major categories (Table 4.3 and Table 4.4): “*Historical narrative of the neighbourhood*” and “*The changes of administrative function and structure of local CC*”. The former is about the neighbourhood changes, with the emphasis on housing reforms, policies, employment, schooling, demolition and resettlement, which may reflect the neighbourhood development from the perspective of local administration. The latter category is about local administrative changes, which cover the administrative division restructuring and function transformation, and other important events, for example, the agricultural tax, housing reform, demolition, subsidies, and land use.

Table 4.7 The procedure of interviews with local CC

Sub-category	The details of the sub-categories
1st Phase – To be familiar with the LCC	
Appointment	Originally meeting up for discussion of topics and interviewees.
2nd Phase—Historical narrative of the neighbourhood	
Today's community	Details of today's neighbourhood in terms of life quality and problems of environment and infrastructure.
Changes of communities & neighbourhoods	Details of local development, including the administrative restructuring, functional changes and important events (agricultural tax, housing reforms, demolition and subsidies, land use).
Contact information	Ask for the documents of local history and contact details for local old residents.
3rd Phase – The changes of administrative function and structure of local CC	
Today's LCC	The organization structure of the local Community Committee (CC), the changing process and the problems of current administration.
Local CC's changes	The function of CC, and the situation of public and social groups' involvement in local development and administration.

Source: Based on research framework and data collection plan, 2015

The interviews with the local CCs included three steps. Table 4.7 illustrates the topics and procedure of the interviews. The purpose of the first meeting was to talk about the plan of interviews and to be familiar with the interviewees – the members of the local CC; then the topics and other details could be fixed for the next formal appointment. The focus of the third meeting was the historical narrative of the local CC, the changes, the difficulties of development, and the administrative function, especially the extent of public involvement in the management and planning process.

Interview – Urban researchers

Three urban researchers of the NBU have rich research experience in the neighbourhood and demography of Ningbo. For example, Ms Chen has worked for community planning for many years, and published papers with Prof. John Friedmann of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver (Friedmann & Chen, 2010; Chen, 2011; Chen 2009). Dr. Qiao and Dr. Feng were also rich in community studies in terms of publication and supervision of students, so the discussion with them was also very helpful. The major discussions with the three researchers were about the selection of cases, the challenges of data collection, and the workable ways of communication with the locals and distributing questionnaires. They also helped with the ways of finding out the historical records of local development.

4.4.3 The qualitative analysis – The coding paradigm

This section looks at how to use qualitative analysis on the interview data. We move straight on to coding on the premise that the data collection has been fully designed above. Strauss (1987) outlined a coding paradigm (Figure 4.2) that is an iterative process of data collection, coding and taking memos.

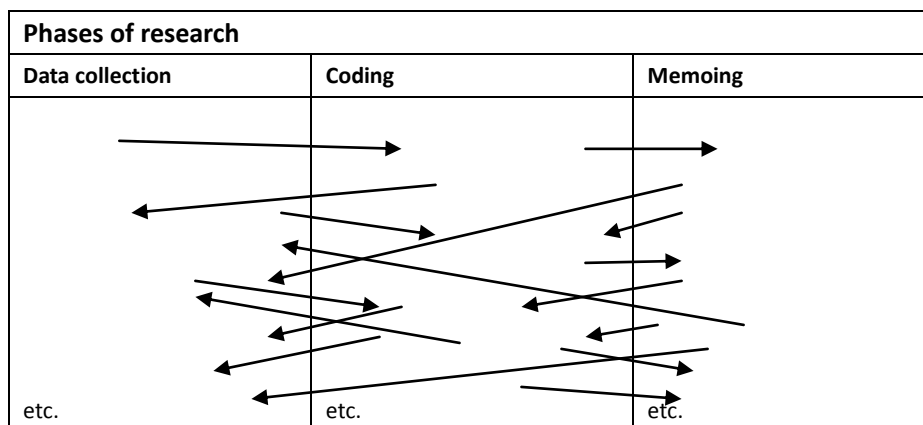


Figure 4.2: Coding Paradigm (Strauss, 1987:19)

Source: Based on research framework and data collection plan, 2015

So take one of the three interviews with the old local residents (section 4.7) as an example. There were three categories used for the interviews with the local residents in this project (Table 4.5; Table 4.6), and they can be broken down into sub-categories more specific for the research questions. As Strauss (1987) indicated, open-coding has a springboard function, as an initial session for further focus on the specific details of the extracted dimensions.

The answers of the interviewees were noted on a sheet and labelled based on the categories and sub-categories, which may reflect more links to the research aim: *To understand the changes of the urban and rural communities in transitional China*. These notes and comments as memos can contribute to the analysis of communities' changes and mechanisms in the later part of this research.

4.5 Quantitative study – The questionnaire

The questionnaire is one of the techniques that can be used for data collection in social science. Questionnaires originated more than a century ago, and had been used as the pioneering study on an analysis of conflicting social norms of the American soldiers' sociological issues, and the quantitative study improved the quality of the research results (Stouffer, 1949). Questionnaires are also employed in social and environmental sciences (Davies, 2007). It is a technique for collecting data from a representative sample of an individual group in order to indicate any differences in this group (Robson, 1993).

It is important to ensure that the questionnaire is of a high standard. Davies (2007) demonstrated that the first of the three statements in a questionnaire will be heavily influenced by the research subject.

4.5.1 The domains, categories and indicators of the questionnaire design

Designing the specific questions linked to the research subject is a challenge and is important when developing a questionnaire. For this research, the questionnaires are designed to cover the two main domains according to the appraisal framework: “*Overall neighbourhood*” and “*Social space*” (Table 4.3).

Table 4.8 The outline content of the questionnaires

Category	The Main indicators	Purposes	Purposes	Aim
Overall neighbourhood				
Individual	Gender, age, education	The demographic restructure	To know the demographic Structural changes	To investigate the changes of urban and rural communities in transitional China
	Marriage, Hukou			
Family structure	Number of members; who are they	Family structure and Family life cycle		
Occupation	Occupation, income, working hours,	Reflection of social stratification		
	Sources of jobs, job changing, locations			
Social space				
Housing	Location, time, types, source, living area, residents density, facilities	Transition of housing in terms of quality and policies	To know the neighbourhoods' social changes	
	Housing selection, housing demolition and resettlement			
Public service	Schools, vehicles and commuting	Accessibility to public service		
	Shopping, entertainment, sports, medical treatment			
Social cohesion	Neighbourly relations, social places	Sense of community		
	Community activity, social network			

Source: Based on research framework and data collection plan, 2015

“*Overall neighbourhoods*” is about the local population, family structure and jobs, and each category has been divided into more specific indicators. For example, the category “individual”, has *gender, age, education, marriage, and Hukou*, and all of the information collected in the category “individual” may reflect on “*the demographic changes*”. The three categories of “individual”, “family structure”, and “occupation” are for the research purposes “*To know the neighbourhood demographic structure changes*” (Table 4.8).

The second domain, “*social space*”, has three categories: “*housing, public service and social cohesion*”, and the data for these categories can also be collected by specific indicators. Again, all of the data collected within this domain are for the purpose of examining the study’s major purpose: “*to know neighbourhood’s social changes*” (Table 4.8).

Finally, all of the collected data in these categories also support the research aim of examining “*To investigate the changes of urban and rural communities in transitional China*” (Table 4.8). Therefore, the questionnaires include all of the designed details above (See Appendix 1: Questionnaire).

4.5.2 Designing sampling

“*In questionnaires, we do not have the luxury of length, simply because of cost*” (Carno & Brewer, 2002). The magic of sampling at its best is this: provided your sample is truly representative of the population and not too small, you don’t need to do more in order to arrive at conclusions that are generally applicable, therefore, all the scientific research focuses on a small segment or “sample” of a bigger population (Davies, 2007).

Sampling units:

The first task is to define the population size and the sampling unit for this study. The local residents of all the selected neighbourhoods are the whole sampling population. Robson (1993) mentioned that the geographical areas to which we wish to generalise the results is an important consideration. Then, which part of this population will be the representative ones of the whole? So this unit should have an element for the selection at some stage of sampling (Rubin & Babbie, 1993). For this project, the element is adults age 18+, including migrant workers and locals, in the selected neighbourhoods are the sampling units. Their views and information may reflect the details of communities and neighbourhoods.

Sampling frame:

Once the population has been defined, the sampling process can begin (Davies, 2007). A sampling frame is a good way to begin. The sampling frame may include lists, maps or other types of document and information from the sample that can be selected at each sampling

stage (Moser & Kalton, 1971). Using the land use maps produced by the Ningbo Urban Planning and Design Institute 2014, the sampling frame was employed in this project so that the questionnaires were equally distributed in all parts of each neighbourhood. This was done by dividing each case into 100*100m modules and distributing samples in them.

Sampling type:

Since this research involves the selection of a random pattern of sampling frame, the *simple random sample* will be applied in this project based on its two principles: that every member of the “population” has an equal chance of being included in the sample; and that every possible combination of individuals from within the “population” is equally likely (Davies, 2007). Hence, one benefit is that the most diverse residents could be involved in the studies randomly. The questionnaire could be completed by residents randomly in street, shops, stores, squares or indoors.

Sampling size:

Sampling size is never an easy task (Robson, 1993). Although there is never a specific required sampling size, Robson (1993) argued that “*the larger the sample, the lower the likely error in generalizing*”. Some suggested it should be 5% of the total population (Frankfort, 1992). Some found that sample size varies with the subjects, which can be drawn from a specific population (Yeomans, 1968). Then it is important to identify the population of the cases in order to define the size.

Table 4.9 The sampling size in field studies.

Communities	Households	Locals	Migrants	Total	Valid	Practical	Design
<i>Yongjiang</i>	1135	2572	3450	6022	52	60	60
<i>Shangshao</i>	306	530	400	930	43	50	50
<i>Wenchang</i>	2293	5516	1500	7000	61	80	100

Source: Based on research framework and data collection plan, 2015

Table 4.9 illustrates the population size of cases. For example, there are around 1135 households in Yongjiang communities, a total of 6022 residents, including 2572 locals and 3450 migrant workers. The estimated sample frames for the three are respectively around 4200 in Yongjiang, 630 in Shangshao and 4900 in Wenchang, because around 70% of the urban population in Ningbo are adults (Census, 2010). Considering time, costs and other limitations, in order to gain a higher rate of accuracy, the target sample size for this research was 1% to 5% of the communities' population size (1%-5% of the sample frame).

Distributing the questionnaires by assistants:

To distribute the 210 questionnaires efficiently, three graduate students from the Urban Planning Department of Ningbo University acted as assistants from Nov. 2014 to Feb 2015. An introduction meeting for all of the participants was necessary, including discussions of issues of location, skills of distribution, and other details. In the distribution process, the researcher (from NBU) always participated and guided them in the field, in order to solve any problems that they were facing in the field studies.

The figure displays six pages of handwritten questionnaires, organized into three pairs. Each pair represents a different type of questionnaire: 'Locals' and 'Migrants'. The pages are numbered 1 through 3 for each type.

- Locals' questionnaires, pp.1:** This page contains personal information, family details, and a table for recording household income and expenditure. It includes handwritten entries for a local resident.
- Locals' questionnaires, pp.2:** This page focuses on community participation and social networks. It includes a table for recording community activities and a section for recording social relationships.
- Locals' questionnaires, pp.3:** This page continues the community participation and social networks section, including a table for recording community activities and a section for recording social relationships.
- Migrants' questionnaires, pp.1:** This page contains personal information, family details, and a table for recording household income and expenditure. It includes handwritten entries for a migrant resident.
- Migrants' questionnaires, pp.2:** This page focuses on community participation and social networks. It includes a table for recording community activities and a section for recording social relationships.
- Migrants' questionnaires, pp.3:** This page continues the community participation and social networks section, including a table for recording community activities and a section for recording social relationships.

Figure 4.3 Samples of two kinds of questionnaires (locals and migrants), 2015.

Source: Based on author's field survey, 2015

In practice, usually completing a questionnaire takes around 40 minutes, and I would fill in the forms by interviewing the residents if some did not have the patience to fill it in. Here are two samples (Chinese version) filled in respectively by a resident and a rural-migrant resident

from Shuangqiao village. Each questionnaire included three pages, with more than 80 questions in total (Figure 4.3).

4.5.3 Methods of quantitative analysis

After the data is collected, it must be assembled in some way to allow for a meaningful triangulation and an interpretation of different viewpoints (Moster & Kalton, 1971).

Data preparation:

After the large quantity of data in the selected communities and neighbourhoods was collected through different techniques, it was input in to a Microsoft Excel Sheet and compiled into a database for social analysis, mainly by SPSS.

Each possible question answer was allocated a code, then the *Name, Type, Decimal Places as required, Label, Values and Value Labels* were checked. This was repeated for each remaining variable to construct the dataset, and it also needed separate locals and migrants (different questionnaires). Furthermore, the data needs to be error-free for further analysis; errors may occur due to incorrect coding or reading of codes (Rubin & Babbie, 1993). One of the methods for detecting errors is to create a derived variable for checking the errors, then to go back to correct the expression if necessary; alternatively the missing data can be filtered out, using *select cases* to delete the un-useful values before performing the analysis.

Measuring the variances:

To know the distribution of indicators over the overall neighbourhood, one of the most common methods is frequency analysis. For example, we can know the demographic structure (size of residents, structure of age groups), the structure of occupation and income level, and the percentage that work more than 30 hours per week.

4.6 Discussion and conclusion

4.6.1 Secondary data

The statistical yearbooks are Ningbo 1990, Ningbo 2000-2010, and the National Census, which includes the 1990, 2000 and 2010 census of Ningbo. The census is the most detailed, reliable, consistent data set, which may contribute to the research of residential space transition, especially at the city level. It is mainly used for socio-spatial change studies, including economic restructure, social stratification and residential differentiation. Also worth mentioning is that the new considerations of the 2010 version make the statistics more reasonable and accurate (The extended scope covers the temporary residents from Taiwan,

HK, Macao and foreign countries; investigation is based on residential places rather than registered Hukou places).

Housing and land policies and other documents may support the qualitative research in dynamic mechanisms of the transformation process, such as the housing and land policies' impact on residential spatial structure.

Maps, for example, the Ningbo city metropolitan map, and the land use maps, effectively provide the information about urban land use change. Civil administrative data, including the statistical data of the poor households and the disabled individuals, help to know the situation of the disadvantaged residents. In addition, besides the local record document by the CCs, the superior government (or local authorities) may also collect a certain number of records of local development which is of great significance in the study of communities and neighbourhood changes.

4.6.2 The discussion of other possibilities

Is it possible to collect data through internet and social media?

There are a large number of social media in China, including email, Renren (China's Facebook), Microblog, Wechat and QQ, but many of them are not popular in certain social groups of the less-educated migrant workers, and the elderly residents.

Is the selection range of interviewees too narrow?

Actually, the residents' current population structural, economic and residential situations can be collected by the questionnaires and observations. So, the aim of data collection in the interviews is to describe the full picture of communities' changes in terms of infrastructure and local administrative models.

Ethics of the survey

Being honest and building up trust with the local residents are significant issues, as Bryman 2001 claimed that without this it is very difficult to conduct the research. All of the participants and interviewees were informed about the aims and the significance of the survey before attending. The explanation included the reasons for choosing the respondents, and it confirmed the confidentiality of the answers, because privacy is another important issue in field study (Bryman, 2001). In this project, all of the questions listed in the questionnaires and interviews do not cover any specific details of their private lives, and confidentiality and anonymity were promised to the residents before and during conducting the interviews and completing the questionnaires. Thereby, the data collected will not contain any information about individual identification or names.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explained how the case studies and data collection have been developed, based on the appraisal framework of community change studies. Specific cases have been selected to match the research needs and to reflect the typical characteristics of community and neighbourhood change in different locations of Ningbo. The research also follows the guidelines of the appraisal framework, collecting specific information from questionnaires and interviews by matching the different levels of research aims and indicators. In terms of quantitative data design, the match included the sub-indicators and the research purposes of categories, the major indicators (categories) and the research purposes of domains. Finally, in order to service the needs of the research aim, and in terms of qualitative data collection design, the interviews were also classified into different interviewees: residents (locals or migrants), community committees, and professional Ningbo urban researchers, and they were asked different questions with different emphases. The sampling of questionnaires was also discussed, including the sampling units, frame, size, scope and ways of distributing the questionnaires.

Part III Case studies: to identify the problems and characteristics of community and neighbourhood changes

Chapter Five: The research background: Ningbo

Since China's reform and opening up in 1978, the market-based economic system, including gradualism-style policies, the Hukou system, land use changes and rapid massive urbanisation, all gradually came to dominate the cities and communities' comprehensive changes in social, economic and spatial aspects.

On the one side, it has significantly and rapidly improved quality of life, income levels and the degree of urbanisation; on the other side, complex urban phenomena happened, including environmental pollution, unfair levels between migrants and locals in education, job opportunities, and public facilities usage. Residential communities and villages gradually changed into diverse types, including villages-in-city, villa areas (wealthy ghetto), resettlement neighbourhoods and gated communities (Wu and Li, 2006). Specifically in Ningbo city, one of the first groups of cities opened up in the 1980s, (Song, 2005), the most significant characteristics are social differentiation and social-spatial restructuring in the urban transition process.

This chapter draws on the case studies of Ningbo using the 2010 National Census, a 1% sample survey, the Ningbo 1985-2014 yearbook and 17 interviews, at the city level, in order to understand the city's transition and the characteristics of social, economic and spatial change in transitional China (Figure 5.3)

5.1 Social changes in Ningbo

The scope of this research is confined to the metropolitan areas (Figure 5.2), including six districts. It is classified into two kinds of zones: downtown and suburb areas. Figure 5.3 illustrates two downtown districts: Haishu (No.1) and Jiangdong (No. 2) and four suburb districts, Jiangbei (No. 3), Beilun (No.4), Zhenhai (No.5) and Yinzhou (No.6).

Over the past three decades, the citizen population has significantly increased, as well as the number of migrant workers. As a result of the implementation of the Household Contract Responsibility System in Rural China since 1983 (Tang, 2008), agricultural efficiency significantly improved, with surplus rural labour moving into the manufacturing and service industries of cities. The total population steadily increased but the proportion of rural households obviously declined. Based on "the population development report" by Ningbo municipality in 2012, the size of the registered temporary resident population in Ningbo grew from 2.35 to 3.37 million between 2005 and 2012, accounting for 41% of the total population in 2012. Considering the high ratio of un-registered migrant workers, the real number of migrants could be much larger.

However, Ningbo also experienced a dramatic social and spatial change in population structure, income and jobs.



Figure 5.1 Location of Ningbo, China



Figure 5.2 Ningbo within Zhejiang

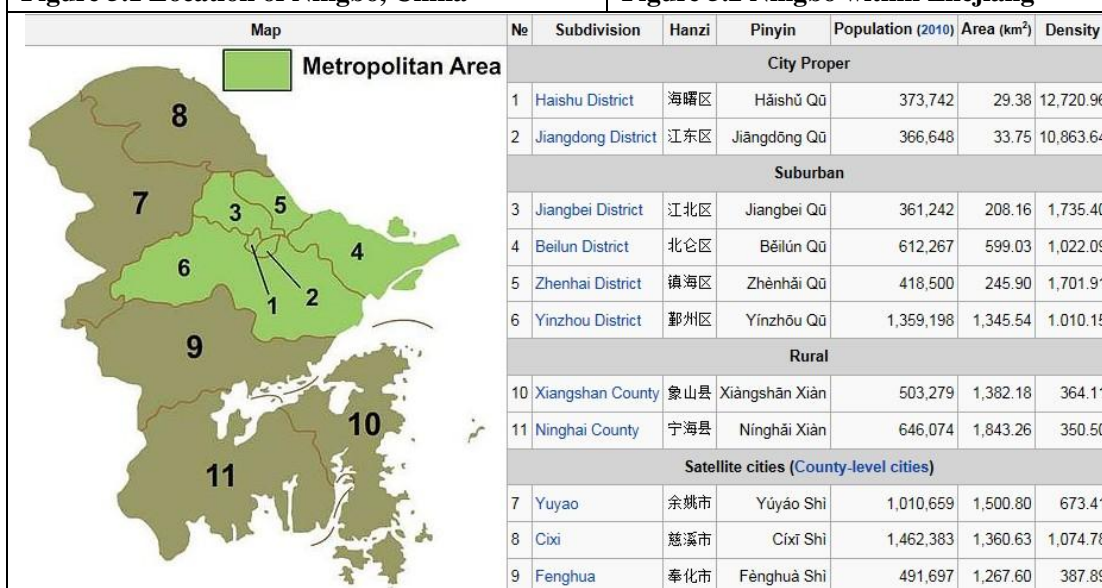


Figure 5.3 Ningbo Metropolitan Area, 2015

Source: Ningbo Government (<http://www.ningbo.gov.cn>), 2015

5.1.1 Aging society and family miniaturisation

In terms of age structure, Ningbo has been an aging society. According to the U.N. commentary on aging levels in 1956, Ningbo was a typical young-adult society in the 1980s, became a mature age type society in the 1990s, and eventually became an aging society in the late 2000s, as the ratio of people over 60 years old reached more than 30% higher than the standardisation by the U.N. in the 1950s. Specifically in downtown Ningbo, this ratio is around 50% higher than the urban average level.



Figure 5.4 The old are enjoying the free drama, Zhongshan Park of Ningbo, 2015

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

In the field studies in Ningbo, it also found that old residents usually preferred staying in the old traditional neighbourhood in downtown, where there are nearby good medical resources, and public places convenient for social activities. For example, Figure 5.4 shows that the local elderly residents were enjoying free drama in the Zhongshan Park (nearby Wenchang). Their limited income is less dependent on their pension, but is more from property-related business, since the increasing numbers of migrant workers agglomerate in these neighbourhoods, attracted by its advantageous location and cheaper housing (Field survey, 2015).

The younger members of local families usually leave the traditional large families, leading to a reduction in family size. As the data showed, family size has decreased from 3.72 to 2.61 persons/household (Ningbo Yearbook, 2012). In the Ningbo interviews, most young people preferred to live independently because they were pursuing personal development and were keen to have more private space, directly resulting in “empty nest” families where the senior parents live alone.

5.1.2 Imbalance in income and jobs

The rapid economic development enhanced family income but also enlarged the imbalance between urban and rural, local and migrant workers. In urban and rural Ningbo, the gap widened from 1.3 in 1985 to around 2 in 2011; inside the city, the ratio of income of the top 20% income groups to that of the bottom 20% income groups significantly increased from 2.22 to 5.9. Because the locals can usually also directly generate income from their own property, whereas migrants are almost solely dependent upon their salary income (which

accounts for 82% of their total income) the imbalances are accentuated. The gap also existed in different ownership companies and different industries. For example, employees in public organisations and state-run companies usually have better welfare and treatment facilities than the private sectors.



Figure 5.5 A construction site in Ningbo, 2014

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

As the field studies in Ningbo showed, the migrant-worker groups from poorer provinces account for the majority of lower-income groups and are mostly employed in labour-intensive industries. And it was also found that, because they lack the skills to work in industry, female migrant workers can only occupy jobs in informal economic sectors, such as selling food or tailoring on the street. Figure 5.5 shows that male migrants are working on construction sites.

5.1.3 Residential and transportation upgraded

As most Danwei neighbourhoods have changed into commercial-residential communities since the late 1990s, housing quality has significantly improved. Per capita living space has risen from 5.6 m² in 1985 to 32.5 m² in 2015, but under the market system, residential communities have become very different socially at the city level.

Simply, the rich usually occupy the better housing, for example, Kana neighbourhoods in the suburb with a high-quality natural environment, and senior apartments in downtown usually with high-quality educational and medical resources. However, the lower-income groups, including migrant workers and graduates, can only live in villages-in-city or suburb villages, sharing the rooms with others, without basic facilities such as warm water, an independent kitchen and toilet.



Figure 5.6 Occupation in the lanes of Haishu, Ningbo, 2015

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

Transportation quality has also improved over the last three decades. Public bus lines have changed from 17 lines in 1978 to 127 lines in 2012, and the total length and passengers carried have also very significantly increased (Ningbo Statistical Bureau, 2014). The number of privately owned vehicles also sharply increased after 2000, but squeezed public space due to the shortage of parking spaces. For example, the number of private vehicles rose to 131,000 in city Ningbo in 2014, but there are only around 35,000 parking places in urban areas (Ningbo Statistical Bureau, 2014). Figure 5.6 shows private vehicles occupying pedestrian lanes and public spaces.

5.1.4 Social concept gradually opened and diversified

As the ownership system changed in China in the 1980s, people's lives and cultural values also profoundly changed. In the early 1980s, which was an era of relative material deprivation and shortage of supply, a variety of coupons were considered as the main symbol of that era (Song, 2005). The various coupons were used to buy some limited kinds of food and daily supplies under the planned system before the 1990s (Song, 2005).

"I believed working for our collective enterprise is more important than purely earning money in the early 1980s, and our working team were always eating and working together, we having friendship as families" Mr Wang (63 years old, local citizen, 2014). +

People focused on the collective but ignored individual cognition, meaning that any works related to the collective and public sectors are given priority. However, all this completely changed as the market system gradually replaced the planned system in the early 1990s. Pursuing individual development and owning more wealth became popular; "self-employed"

had been the key word in the 1990s, and “to be rich” has become the most direct and effective display of self-expression.

Some popular phrases reflect the typical ideas of the 1990s, such as “knowledge changes the fate” “learn physics and chemistry”, expressing the fact that people and society believe that they can change their life path and pursue a good career with a better income through self-education. However, a social phenomenon, “Xiahai”, meaning “going to the blue sea of doing business”, refers to a group of people, including senior intellectual and governmental officials, who resigned in order to conduct private businesses (Interview survey, 2014). This can be considered to be the result of the single value of “pursuing private wealth” which was overwhelming in the 1990s.

Since 2000, as the market-oriented influence has deepened and widened in society, and with the increasing number of migrant workers and the popularity of western culture in society, people’s social concepts and values have become complex and multiple. This has also resulted in many new social ideas closely allied to wealth, including “mammonish”, “a life of pleasure” and “materialism” (Song, 2005). People were caught unawares, then some people began to seek the answers from the factors from Chinese traditional culture, the Confucian culture and Buddhism (Wu, 2005). Western cultures, which also brought international lifestyles to local society in terms of international brands, movies, commodities and services, for example Nike sports shoes and internal gyms representing the healthy and sports lifestyle of the West, and Hollywood movies, brought American values to the Chinese (Survey, 2015).



Figure 5.7 Commercial pedestrian street in CBD of Ningbo, 2014

Source: Author’s field survey, 2015

Culinary culture and leisure culture also became rich after 2000. Figure 5.7 shows Ningbo

Chenghuangmiao Commercial Pedestrian Street in Ningbo CBD, with a variety of restaurants, including Sichuan, Shandong, Cantonese and Mongolian cuisines, that successively opened as more and more migrants brought their own cultures and dialects to the city. For example, “Dangwang”, “Saiyang” and “Deierqilai” etc. are popular in the Ningbo local language.

In addition, migrant workers, of whom there were over 3 million in 2012, became a very influential part for the city, but they have very different life values between generations. Most of the old generation migrants considered that working in cities is for a “better life back in their home village” (Mr Deng, 59 years old, 2014); and consider themselves as “rural migrants” who “will go back after saving enough money” (Interview, Ms Lin, 52 years old, 2015). However, the younger generation grew up in cities, gradually formed very different ideas and values. These different characteristics are reflected by the interviews, for example, some of the typical opinions expressed by the youth were “I am working for myself” (Interview, Qi, 27 year old, 2015), “identify herself as a new local citizen” (Interview, Xiao, in early 20s years old, 2015), and “have very little interest in going back to my parents’ villages” (Interview, Kun, 20s years old, 2015).

5.2 Urban spatial changes

The administrative changes and industrialisation process are considered to be the major reasons for urbanisation levels in Ningbo (Ningbo’s urbanisation was 15.6% in 1980). The economic system reform brought market-oriented mechanisms into industrialisation in the early 1980s. A number of development and industry zones were established, attracting a huge number of migrant workers in industry, and improving urbanisation levels (Tang, 2008). Moreover, the Ningbo administrative zone enlarged to 126 square kilometres after implementation of the policy “combining towns and villages into the city” in 1992. Yinzhou county changed into one urban district of the Ningbo administrative zone in 2004, which also significantly improved urbanisation level (Song 2005).

However, the urbanisation level is less developed than non-agricultural economic sectors growing in Ningbo. For example, urbanisation is 57.1% but non-agricultural economic sectors were over 92.5% in 2012 (Ningbo Year Book, 2014). Generally, as economic reforms and administrative zone changes have occurred in Ningbo, urban space has clearly enlarged since 1990, even though it is negatively influenced by the strict Hukou system that prevents rural residents and migrant workers from moving freely and migrating in urban areas (Tang, 2008).

Residential space has also changed from simple to complex as the national planned system shifted to a market system. For most citizens living in Danwei communities, their residential areas were totally arranged as part of social welfare by the public housing distribution system

in the 1980s. This resulted in the simple residential structure of the independent "island-style" at city level, which means different Danwei neighbourhoods were socially isolated and gated in an urban space. However, as the land use policies changed to market-oriented in the late 1990s, the housing allocation system also became very dependent on the market system, producing a number of very different neighbourhoods by locations. For example, prices of high-rise Yongjiang apartments were around 29,000 RMB/m² in downtown Ningbo (Ningbo Yearbook, 2014), while the local elderly can only stay in the declining traditional neighbourhoods next door. Both are in the suburb, where a huge number of villas have occupied the suburb with natural environmental resources, worth more than 7,000,000 RMB/each (Ningbo Statistical Bureau, 2013). This means that the migrant workers are limited to sharing rooms within the surrounding villages.

As an increasing number of heavy industries and state-owned enterprises moved to the industrial zone of the suburb and urban fringe, a series of new urban spaces and infrastructure emerged, including the economic sectors of commercial, service, finance, middle-class residential areas. In addition, the implementation of standardising plants has broken the family-workshop-style, and promoted the formation of specific industrial clusters in certain places, including the industries of household appliances in Cixi, hardware industries in Yinzhou, and electronic and machinery industries in Haishu (Interview, Ningbo Planning Bureau, 2014).



Figure 5.8 Ningbo middle-class residential areas Figure 5.9 Urban fringe villages, 2015

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

Besides the residential communities for the middle class, the surrounding villages also provided plenty of housing for lower-income groups. Figures 5.8 and 5.9 are the middle-class residential communities and the rented rooms for migrant workers in villages of the urban fringe, near to the industrial cluster zones. A huge number of lower-income migrant workers usually prefer living together in rather cheap residential areas, but their directors and senior managers can live in the neighbourhoods of better housing quality and environments, like that shown in Figure 5.8.

5.3 Conclusion: From simple to complex

Over the past three decades, Ningbo has experienced comprehensive changes from simple to complex, and from balance to differentiation, in terms of the economic system and structure, and cultural, social, demographic structure, residential and daily life values, etc.

The above analysis of Ningbo in transitional China can be summarised from four perspectives:

- 1 The distribution patterns of residential communities at the city level: from Danwei to commercialised-residential communities, the independent "island-style" residential communities in the 1980s gradually evolved into an open and complex spatial structure in the 2000s. In the suburb, the traditional villages also changed into diversified forms.
2. Social structure changed: in the 1980s society consisted of soldiers, peasants, workers, and intellectuals, but it gradually changed as a result of the Hukou system after 2000 for the locals and the migrant workers, as well as their income levels.
- 3 Industrial layout changed: heavy industry and state-run enterprises moved to the suburbs after the late 1990s, and continued to evolve into large-scale specialised industrial clusters in certain places.
- 4 Income and age changes: careers are more diverse, the property income proportion of total income is increasing and the income gap has been widening. Society has aged, cultural values and life ideas have become more open, diversified and individualised.

Generally, all the changes experienced in Ningbo city were the result of the system changing from a national planned system to a market-oriented system. The process of changing from a planned economic to a market economic system fundamentally changed the methods and ways of resource allocation, and its authorities, organisations, ways of living style and residences. This can all be comprehensively reflected in communities' and neighbourhoods' changes in terms of social, environmental, physical and administrative aspects. Therefore, studies on the changes at city level would be very beneficial to understand the details at the community level. This is presented in the following chapters.

**Chapter Six: From Danwei to commercial-residential communities in
downtown: Wenchang**

The development of socialism meant a focus on industrial modernisation in the early 1950s, to achieve the goal of “China overtaking the UK and the US as the world’s most powerful economy and nation,” China implemented a strict system of planned economy, centralised social resources to carry out large projects. In order to implement the national policies and guidelines, the government used the Danwei system to arrange the welfare allocation and personal file of Hukou, residential and employment. On the one hand, the Danwei system could arrange the daily lives of residents, their living, housing, welfare and safety; on the other hand, it stripped the residents of freedom and the individual option of moving, working and travelling, and even caused the “dual structure” of urban and rural society. As the market economy gradually replaced the planned economy, and became the mainstream of development, the functions and roles of Danwei were being gradually weakened or they even disappeared. Society became more diverse, and people’s values, the population structure and the gap between rich and poor, underwent great changes. Especially since the welfare-oriented public housing distribution system was stopped in 1998, the market has become the main mechanism for the allocation of housing, and then commercial-residential communities quickly became the main community in a city.

This chapter analyses the urban community changes in the case of Wenchang over the past three decades, based on the appraisal framework in terms of population structure, jobs, income levels, sources of jobs, housing, leisure and public services, sense of community and administration changes. By doing so it aims to clarify the characteristics of the change from Danwei and traditional neighbourhoods to commercial-residential neighbourhoods, and to understand the logic behind the process.

6.1 Wenchang communities: to be commercial-residential

Wenchang is a community that has mainly changed from Danwei to commercial-residential neighbourhoods over the past decades. The disappearance of Danwei and the relocation of the state-owned factories in the late 1990s provided enough space for the development of market-oriented neighbourhoods. Residents have greater freedom of employment and choice of housing, and young and middle-aged families with a good income have become the main residents of these commercial-residential neighbourhoods. As a direct result of this, there have been major changes, including population structure, jobs and income, quality of housing, facilities, transportation, public service and community attachment. Faced with such a diverse society, it needs a new organisation to undertake the re-functions of society and to better meet the diversified needs of the changing community. So Community Committees have appeared in this context; organised by local residents, they are able to participate in the process of local administration and planning, as well social activities.

More importantly, as industrialisation and urbanisation attract an increasing number of rural migrants, these workers have become an important component of urban and suburb residents, and their population structure, path of life, daily habits, ways of socialising, different values, and the young generations, have all had a significant impact on changes in the communities.

6.1.1 Data collection: locals, migrants

Wenchang community contains five different neighbourhoods: the local traditional neighbourhood, No. 73 neighbourhood, Xiangxie-lishe (XXLS), Wenchang-Huanyuan (WCHY) and Yinxing-Siji (YXSJ). In total there were 61 valid questionnaires (totally 80 questionnaires were randomly distributed), of which 39 were filled in by locals, and 22 questionnaires by migrants. In terms of areas, 20 questionnaires were from the traditional neighbourhood (9 locals and 11 migrants), 10 from No. 73 neighbourhood (9 locals and 1 migrant), 9 from WCHY (7 locals and 1 migrant), 11 from XXLS (6 locals and 5 migrants) and 12 from YXSJ (8 locals and 4 migrants). In addition, it also finished with 47 valid interviews, of which 26 interviews are with locals and 21 interviews with migrants.

Focusing on locals and migrants, the community changes of the physical and social elements, in terms of demographic structure, jobs and income, housing, leisure and infrastructure will be discussed. The changes in the local Community Committee will then be analysed, along with ways of participation, by using the materials from the interviews.

6.1.2 Introduction: from local traditional to commercial-residential neighbourhoods

Wenchang community is located in downtown Ningbo (Figure 6.1). It covers about 0.12 square kilometres, has a total population of around 8,500, including 1,500 rural migrants (Wenchang Community Committee, 2015). In total it includes five residential neighbourhoods (Figure 6.1): Wenchang-Huayuan (WCHY), Yinxing-Siji (YXSJ) and Xiangxie-Lishe (XXLS) are new commercial-residential neighbourhoods that were all built after 2000; No. 73 is a resettlement neighbourhood built up since 1990, and there is the local traditional neighbourhood, which has existed for hundreds of years, containing Shangshu Lane, Baoxing Lane, Feijiang Lane, etc. These are mainly formed by local traditional construction (Figures 6.2 and 6.3).

Within Wenchang area, there are rich infrastructure and public facilities nowadays, such as Wenchang Hotel, Xinxing Hotel, the China Industrial & Commercial Bank, the Zhejiang Electric Power Construction Corp. etc. Moreover, there are also some important cultural heritages, in total five heritages at the provincial level and municipal level in Wenchang. For example, Fufu-Shi in Yongshou Street is the most typical traditional historical and cultural construction of the Ming Dynasty in Ningbo.

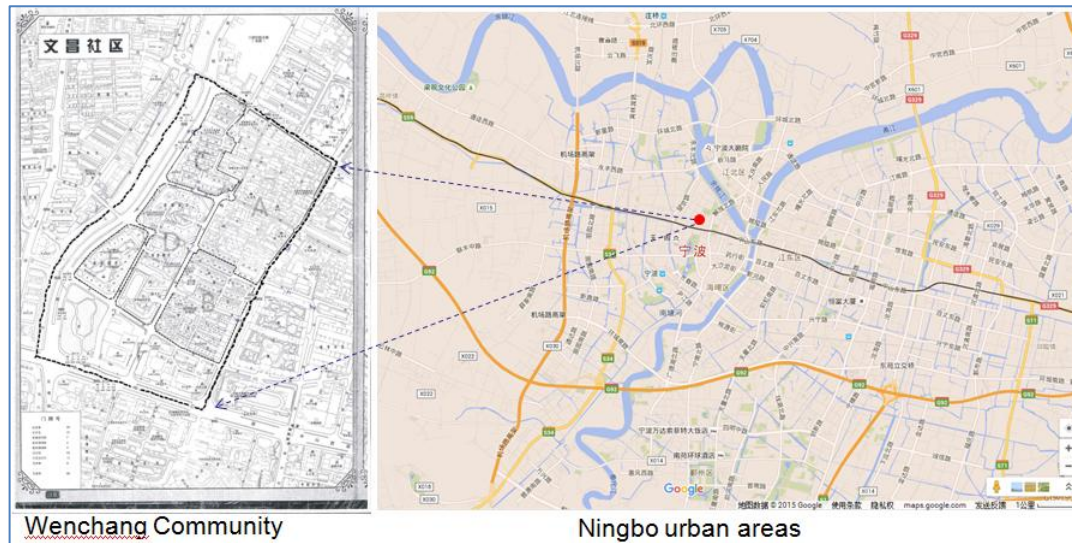


Figure 6.1 Location of Wenchang, 2015

Source: Based on Ningbo Municipality Statistics Bureau, 2014

The community changes: from Danwei and traditional to commercial-residential

Overall, the dramatic changes of Wenchang community can be summarised in three phases over the past three decades. As Table 6.1 shows, the welfare-oriented public housing distribution system existed in the 1980s, and within the community were local traditional style old neighbourhoods (Figures 6.2 and 6.3), factory zones and Danwei residential areas. The 1990s were a transitional phase; SOEs' factories were moved out to the outskirts, and Danwei neighbourhoods were gradually demolished. Then against the background of the land use policy changes in the late 1990s, which can be considered as a market-oriented phase, three different new types of commercial-residential neighbourhoods were successively established in the 2000s.

Table 6.1 The change of Wenchang since 1980

Periods	1980s	1990s	Since 2000
Diff. phases	Welfare-oriented public housing system	Transitional phases	Market-oriented housing system
Site A	Local traditional neighbourhoods	Mixed-type local traditional neighbourhoods appearing	A: Local traditional neighbourhoods became more mixed with immigrants
Site B		Building up Resettlement neighbourhood in 1991	B: Resettlement neighbourhood (No.73)
Site C	SOEs	Factory was relocated to suburbs in 1998	C: CRNs (WCHY)
Site D	residential areas of SOE	Dormitory buildings were gradually demolished	D: CRNs (XXLS)
Site E	XS Middle school	XS Middle school	E: CRNs (YXSJ)

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

Sites A, B, C, E and F respectively are different neighbourhood land sites of current Wenchang communities (Table 6.1), and Figure 6.1 shows the locations of these sites. Site A is a traditional neighbourhood with old locals and migrant workers; Site B is a resettlement neighbourhood called No.73, and Site C, Site D and Site E are all new commercial-residential neighbourhoods built up after 2000 – however, they have profoundly changed over three decades.

In the 1980s, Site A and Site B were traditional old neighbourhoods that had already existed for hundreds of years (Figures 6.2 and 6.3). Site C was the location of a state-owned machinery factory, and their factory dormitories, in Site D, were tube-shaped departments (Figure 6.4). Site E was the location of a high school.



Figure 6.2 Traditional local neighbourhood, Wenchang

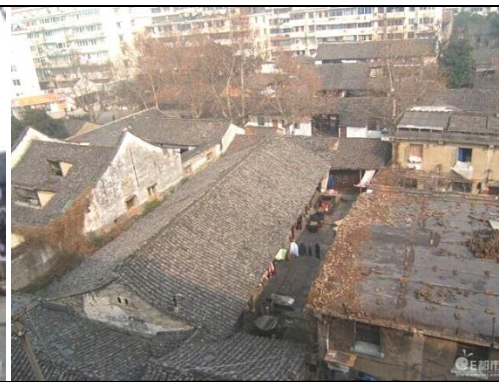


Figure 6.3 Traditional local neighbourhood, Wenchang

Source: Author's field studies survey, 2015

Until the early 1990s, Site A and Site B were still local-traditional-construction neighbourhoods of the locals, but had been transformed differently: the constructions of Site B were totally demolished, and built into six-floor buildings with flats containing double bedrooms and one living room (Figure 6.5). The residential areas of Site A were preserved, as five traditional constructions of Site A were considered to constitute heritage buildings by the local authorities. The factories and workers' accommodation on Site C were relocated to the suburbs in the late 1990s. Wenchang-Huayuan neighbourhood (WCHY) was the one of first market-oriented real estate projects in Ningbo and was built in 2001. It was purchased by the local municipalities for their retired members of staff (local Community Committee, 2015). The high school of Site E was also moved out in 2001, where a market-oriented residential area-YXSJ was established soon after, to be a commercial-residential neighbourhood in 2006 (Figure 6.6).

6.2 Residents population structure: locals, migrants

The residential commercialisation that began in 1998 mostly separated the functions of living and working, more so than in a Danwei community. However, it generated the less sense of community, and residents with similar backgrounds with regard to family income, education level and of daily life style, agglomerated in certain neighbourhoods. Under market-oriented logic, this exacerbated residential differentiation among the rich, poor, locals and migrants (Li and Chen, 2008). For example, because they were less able to move out, due to a lower income and strong community attachments, the local old population lived in traditional neighbourhoods downtown for decades (Ningbo Yearbook, 2015). Here they lacked the basic facilities of baths, toilets, warm water and independent kitchen; and the arrival of a large number of migrant workers meant that many shared the living space with them due to the demand for cheap housing. However, richer households and middle-class families lived in the new high-quality apartments in the commercial-residential neighbourhoods nearby, with good environments and adequate public facilities.

The following will open the discussion of neighbourhood social and physical changes, focusing on two groups of locals and migrant workers.

6.2.1 Residents: aging, schooling, living area and jobs

There are many differences between local and migrant groups, in terms of age structure, occupation, education level, gender structure and spatial distribution.

Locals aging, rural migrants younger

There are around 8,500 people in total (including 2000 migrants) in the Wenchang communities, of whom more than 1,620 are over 60 years old, and more than 276 are over 80. This means that the elderly account for nearly 20% of the entire community, especially in the traditional neighbourhood of No. 73 and WCHY, where there are higher proportions of old residents. However, the major residents of XXLS and YXSJ are younger, because here the elderly population (over 60) account for only 10%. In contrast, the migrant population mainly consists of young male adults, 21-55 years old, accounting for over 55%; those aged 55 to 65 years old account for 31% (Questionnaires survey, 2015).

Migrant schooling lower and more males

The overall education level of locals is significantly higher than the average level of Ningbo. Degree holders are 18% of total residents, especially in XXLS and YXSJ where 23% are graduates. On the other hand, 91% of migrants are “junior middle school level” and none hold

a degree. In addition, there are large differences in gender ratio – in the locals it is close to 1:1, but in the migrants the male to female ratio is 1.8:1, showing that more male migrants have come to live in cities (Ningbo Annual book, 2014).

Mostly living in traditional residential neighbourhoods

“Safe place, good location for convenient commuting, and cheaper housing” are the factors that attract migrants to live in traditional neighbourhood areas of downtown. Migrants already exceed 50% of the total residential population, and most of them are working in private businesses; in comparison, less than 10% of total residents are migrant residents in the commercial-residential neighbourhoods of Wenchang; most work as domestic helpers and cleaners.

6.2.2 Population structure: difference of neighbourhoods

Gradually, residents of similar characteristics were concentrated in their different neighbourhoods. Old locals shared their living space with migrants in traditional neighbourhoods, local residents were resettled in No. 73, retired staff of the municipality lived in WCHY, and middle-class families preferred living in the XXLS and YXSJ neighbourhoods because of the housing market.

The traditional neighbourhood: old locals and migrants

In the traditional neighbourhood of Wenchang, retired local old people and young rural migrants are the main body of residents. The local old have fewer pensions to support their daily life, and usually pay attention to land- and property-related businesses. These are convenient for those migrants seeking cheaper housing downtown. Then a new economic balance appeared.

No. 73 neighbourhood: good social elements but only with local old residents

In No. 73, a resettlement neighbourhood, most of the current residents are from the traditional neighbourhood in 1991, so they have strong social networking. For example, in the field survey, a group of people playing cards, chess and Mahjong was often seen together by the path (Figure 6.29). *“I come here every afternoon if it is not raining that day”* (Mr Dou, 71 years old, Jan. 2015). Playing Mahjong is one of ways to meet up in old neighbourhoods, but this never happens among local young people, or migrant workers. In addition, there are also a small number of middle-aged female migrants, mostly working as domestic helpers, living in No. 73 (Field survey, 2015).

WCHY neighbourhood: retired old colleagues

Wenchang-Huayuan (WCHY) neighbourhood, one of the first commercial real estate projects in Ningbo, is popularly called the "Little State Council" by locals, since most residents are retired senior officials of the Ningbo Municipal Government from the late 1990s. Hence, many of them are old colleagues – the former Ningbo Finance Bureau director, the former deputy mayor and the Personnel Director, all have settled in WCHY; they are familiar with each other, and often chat downstairs, together playing badminton and table tennis.

XXLS and YXSJ neighbourhoods: middle-class households, weak social links

The two commercial-residential neighbourhoods of high-rise buildings, Xiangxie-Lishe (XXLS) and Yinxiang-Siji (YXSJ), were built in 2002 and 2006 respectively. The residents are of similar income level, family structure, age and jobs, *"In 2003, probably most of 30-40 year-olds were able to afford a flat here, so they are 40-50 years old now"* (Interview Mrs Yao, 2015). However, they are weak in social links; there are no residents chatting or playing cards together downstairs, which also resulted in difficulties with meeting people for interviews.

6.3 Employment: locals, migrant workers

Due to the different characteristics between locals and migrants, the following analysis will be divided into two parts.

6.3.1 Employment of Locals: market-oriented, income increasing**Sources of jobs: From national distribution to market-oriented**

Most locals worked in SOEs and public sectors in the 1980s, including local government, hospitals, Post Offices, schools and clinics, but a very smaller number were employed in the private sector, in self-employed businesses and private companies. As the reform of state-owned enterprises² in the 1990s, employment classifications had been diversified: 7.5% were industrial workers, civil servants were 8%, technical personnel were 20%, business management 20%, working at home 2.5 %, and retired 2.6%. Up to 2000, the only sector to change was retired people, which rose significantly to 12%.

In addition, sources of job also changed after 1990. 69% of jobs were arranged by the national

² **Reform of state-ownership** The concept of "a socialist market economic system" issued by central government in 1992 was mainly to promote the joint-stock system of state-owned enterprises and the establishment of modern enterprise system; and proposed the principle of "dominant by public ownership and development of diverse forms ownership", including the state-owned economy, collective economy, individual economy, private economy, joint ventures and wholly foreign-owned enterprises.

system in the 1980s, which meant that all graduates could only accept the job offered by the Personnel Department of the district their Hukou belonged to. This dropped to 37% in the 1990s, and other sources, including “through friends, through job fairs, labour market and finding by myself” reached 42%. This trend continued in the 2000s, so that “arranged by national system” declined to 12%, and this was supplemented by other ways, such as online searching, radio, TV and job market fairs.

Income: increasing, structure: no change

Monthly income has significantly increased since the 1980s. 77.5% of income was 50-100 RMB per month (RMB/M) in the 1980s, 78.5% was 500-2000 RMB/M in the 1990s, and in the 2000s, 42.5% increased to 2000-4000RMB/M, of which 20% were 4000-8000RMB/M 17.5% were even over 8000 RMB/Month. The income structure has changed less over these three decades, “wages income” has been the dominant income, only slightly decreasing from 94% in the 1980s to 81% in the 2010s, and “operational income” slightly increased from 2.5% in the 1980s to 11.5% in the 2000s. The only big change is income related to property rent, particularly in the old traditional neighbourhood areas, rising from 2.5% up to 35%.

An interview: the change of job (Mr. Wang, 60-year-old, 2015)

“In 1969, I had started my career in Ningbo Clothing Factory, as the trainee of Hongbang Tailor, and my salary was 17 RMB/Month. In the 1980s, it had already increased to 120RMB/Month. Our factory was a collective company. In 1977, it moved to Jiangdong District, so it cost me about half hour in commuting every morning, and I was the small group director at that time, and soon became the director of the factory in 1977, until I retired in 2006. My salary was about 3500RMB/Month during that period. And it has increased to about 3000RMB/Month now because of the accumulation of my working years. After I retired, I was invited to come to work in our Wenchang Committee, mainly in charge of the organisation of social events and policies study groups within this society.”

6.3.2 Employment of migrants: from less payment to better job security

Most migrants have a lower education level and less professional skills, working as heavy labour in construction and manufacturing, and most of them prefer changing jobs to improve their income, but working hours have been even longer.

First jobs: less payment, less job security

Most migrants came to Ningbo after the 1990s; 68.2% of them arrived after 2000, and most of their first jobs were introduced by old social networking, as the questionnaire data showed that 95% of their first jobs were “recommendation by friends and relatives”. For manual

workers, most are occupied in low-end manufacturing (32% in manufacturing, 17% in cleaning) and the construction industry (33%). Seventy-two per cent of them are required to work more than 60 hours per week, and they have no weekend holidays.

“Finish work usually at 8pm, so I just simply eat something then sleep, because I still need to get up at 5am in the early morning for work next day” (Interview, Mr Lin, 2015).

The income is quite low in the first jobs: 55% were lower than 1000RMB/month, 87% less than 3000RMB/month, and no one has a legal work contract to protect their legal rights and interests.

“One of my friends, from my hometown, broke his leg after falling down from scaffolding when he was carrying cement, later he went back hometown, because no one needs a disabled person here” (Interview, Mr Cong, 46-year-old, 2015).

Sixty-nine per cent of their jobs have no security at all. *“What is a contract? The group people I am part of just came here because one of our villagers worked here and he told us they needed people, so we just came and worked here”* (Interview, Mr Kang, 57-year-old, 2015).

Change jobs: higher income, higher pressure, for next generation

Incomes significantly increased after changing job – 69% earned between 1000RMB and 4000RMB per month, and migrants take more initiative in finding new jobs based on social networking and work experience. Forty-seven per cent of second jobs are secured through “application online and the job market”. In addition, job security has also improved – 65% of their jobs contain half or part job security, and 29% of them have full job security (Five one insurance fund)³.

However, working hours have slightly increased after the job changes. The questionnaire data showed that 71% of workers worked over “60 working hours per week” in their first job, increasing to 75% in a second job, and 74% in a third job. This means that people prefer to add working time in exchange for more income. For example, cleaners were usually working 14 hours per day, domestic helpers were even working 24/7 apart from sleeping, and migrants running their own businesses, such as a small breakfast restaurant, a repair shop or a decoration team, usually spent all of their time doing business. For example, a fresh vegetable shop, run by Mr Lin and his wife, is open almost 17 hours a day.

³ **Five one insurance fund:** The “Five social insurance and one housing fund”, refers to endowment insurance, medical insurance, unemployment insurance, industrial injury insurance, maternity insurance and housing accumulation funds (“Social insurance law” Article 2, 2014; “Regulations on Management” Article 15, 2015)

“I live in our store, and get up at 5 am to replenish our stock every early morning, because residents would not buy un-fresh vegetables, and my wife looks after the shop before I coming back usually after 9 am; then we work for the rest of the day until 10pm; but my wife also needs to do a second job between 4pm to 7 pm in restaurant.” (Interview, Mr Xu, 51 years old, 2015) Most rural migrants are under high pressure from the daily costs of accommodation, food, health and children’s education, which has transformed into motivation for hard work.

For example, Mr Xu and his wife mentioned more than six times that their only daughter is studying in art school currently, which is the only reason that they are committed to working hard. Once their daughter graduates they will quit and go back home to their village immediately, because they cannot sustain this high pressure anymore. And this idea of “supporting children” was also repeated in many other interviews.

“Both of us are working as cleaners right now, and planning to go back to our hometown when saving enough money, to buy a new flat for our only son in our hometown, then we can still live in our old housing in village” (Interview, Mr Lin, 2015)

An interview of cleaner: harder working

“As a cleaner, I was working in Gulou nearby Wenchang from 1994 to 2000, it was heavy labour work due to the large amount of rubbish produced in commercial zones, but was only about 500RMB/Month. Then I found this job in Wenchang by myself in Autumn 2000, still as a cleaner, but I can earn much more, so I let my wife come from hometown, and working together or three jobs of cleaners, each one requiring us to work 8 hours for 2800 RMB/Month, including full job security. Usually I start work at 4am in early morning until 12 noon, then go back home, having lunch for about one hour; then I go to finish second job until 8pm, before going back to sleep.” (Interview, Mr Zhang 46 year old, cleaner, 2015).

6.4 Residential changes: improved, but unbalanced

Tube-shaped buildings of single bedroom apartments were the only type in the Danwei neighbourhood; in the 1980s (Figure 6.4) these were replaced by high-rise buildings of double- or three-bedroomed apartments in commercial-residential neighbourhoods. Since the late 1990s (Figure 6.5 and Figure 6.6), living space has been bigger, facilities have improved significantly, including an independent kitchen and washroom, and 24 hours’ warm water. However, downtown traditional neighbourhoods where old locals share rooms with migrant workers have not been updated yet. A kitchen is shared by two or three households, and there is only one public bath in the whole neighbourhood for around 3,000 residents.

6.4.1 Locals' residential: mostly improvement, some unchanged

In the 1980s: Poor housing quality, shortage of facilities

In the 1980s of welfare-oriented housing system in Wenchang, 35% and 53% of total residents lived in tube-shaped apartments of the Dawnei neighbourhood or old flats of traditional neighbourhoods, with rather limited living space and few facilities (Figure, 6.4).

In old flats, 74% of households' living areas were less than 30 square metres, with no bath, independent toilet or kitchen; the residents can only realise these functions in their own ways. For example, they use a bedpan at night and take it out early next morning; a temporary cooking range (Figure 6.12) was made in a corridor. Tube-shaped apartments with single bedrooms but no independent toilet or kitchen, were the product of limited housing resources in the 1980s (Wang, Du and Li, 2013). In Wenchang, there are eight rooms in one corridor, and each household lived in one single room of only about 15 square metres, sharing one kitchen and one toilet. The following interviews described the shortage of public facilities:

"Every morning, there is a long queue going to toilet, so I get up at 4 am to avoid peak time" (55 year old, Ms. Wang).

"The kitchen is very crowded in evening, and no way for two people cooking at the same time, so many of us have set up a temporary coal-burning oven in corridor, but very smoky" (53 year old, Ms. Tang).

In addition, there was no privacy space at all in the tube-shaped buildings. A whole family shared one single room, even teenagers children had to share a room with their parents.

"I remembered our neighbourhood, kids often crying at midnight, so we never had a good sleep, but still required to get up early for next day working, so it was not easy at that time" (59 year old, Ma). And even the bedroom doubled as a living room to meet up with friends, because there was no separate other room.



Figure 6.4 Tube-shaped building apartment in the 1980s



Figure 6.5 NO.73 neighb. in the 1990s



Figure 6.6 XXLS neighb. after 2000s

Source: Author's field studies survey, 2015

In the 1990s: Resettlement, improvement

As most traditional residential housings were demolished before 1989, households moved into the resettlement buildings of No. 73. neighbourhood on the old site (Figure 6.5).

Apartments of six-floor buildings usually had two bedrooms and one dining room, with better facilities and a larger living space. Compared to the living conditions in the 1980s (the whole family lived in a single room), different rooms have clear functionality and better privacy, for example, meeting and dining activities are separated into different rooms. Although the dining room of a relatively small area has a separate barrier wall, adverse affecting ventilation and the lighting, the interviews suggested that most households were quite satisfied with living in the 1990s.

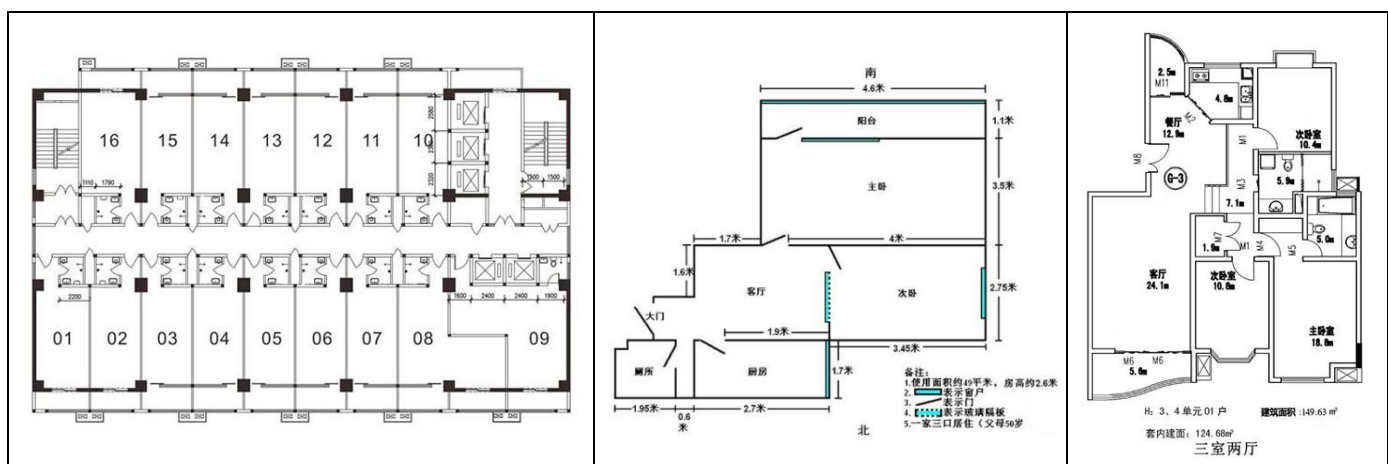
“Eventually, our kid had his room, could study without external disturbance. Buying a desk for him was one of my dreams, and come true right now” (Ms Lee, 2015).

In the 2000s: commercial-residential neighbourhoods (CRNs), further improved

The Wenchang-Huayuan (WCHY) neighbourhood was constructed in 1999; apart from the independent kitchen and washrooms, the flats also had more space, and offered two types of flats: 76-square-metres of double bedrooms, one dining room and 130-square-metres of three bedrooms and two dining rooms. In 2003 and 2006, another two market-oriented projects, Yinxing-Siji (YXSJ) and Xiangxie-Lishe (XXLS), were respectively established within Wenchang, as the middle-class residential areas; quality has been greatly enhanced. Two types of flats were available: 90-square-metres flats of three bedrooms, and 139-square-metres flats of three bedrooms and double dining rooms. The design of these flats is able to meet daily life needs (Figure 6.6).

Flat types Changes: from “accommodation-based” to “multi-functions style”

The design of a flat, including living areas, facilities, buildings and flat types, can very closely reflect its connections to daily life.



Tube-shaped apartment of 1980s

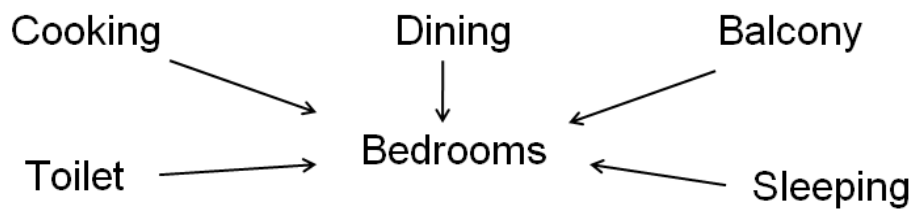
The No.73 style apartment of 1990s

The new style of 2000s

Figure 6.7 The changes in the configuration of flats in Wenchang

Source: Based on Ningbo Municipality Statistics Bureau, 2014

The flat form changes can be the response to the needs created by new lifestyles (Figure 6.8). The tube-shaped apartment of the one-bedroom type was an efficient solution to the urban housing shortage in the 1980s (Figure 6.4). The small-space-type flat with double bedrooms was popular, because this type is the most practical solution under the limitations of the construction standards in the 1990s (Figure 6.5). The flat design with more rooms in high-rise apartments became the trend in the 2000s, because it can satisfy residents' needs for privacy, living areas and different activities of social, leisure, sports and collections (Figure 6.6). Thereby, all of these changes in flat types can be summarised in three Figure s (Figures 6.8, 6.9 and 6.10).

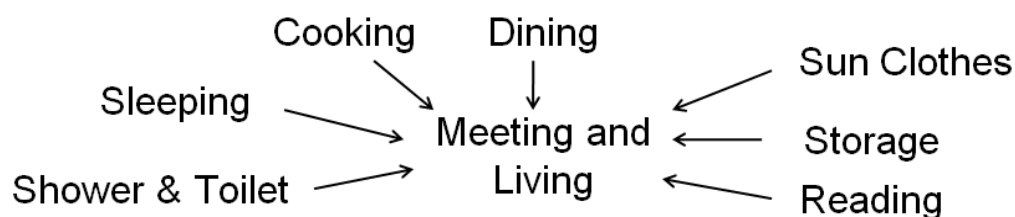


1980s Tube-shaped department in Wenchang

Figure 6.8 Tube-shaped apartment in Wenchang Community in the 1980s

Source: Author's interview survey, 2015

From this model, it can be seen that the tube-shaped type of flat was very simple in the 1980s. A whole household squeezed living into one room, life activities were simplified, many parts of daily life had little space to use or were even ignored (Figure 6.8). For example, people needed to meet guests in the same room where they slept and ate, and children did not have their own rooms and usually had to study in the corridor (Figure 6.4).

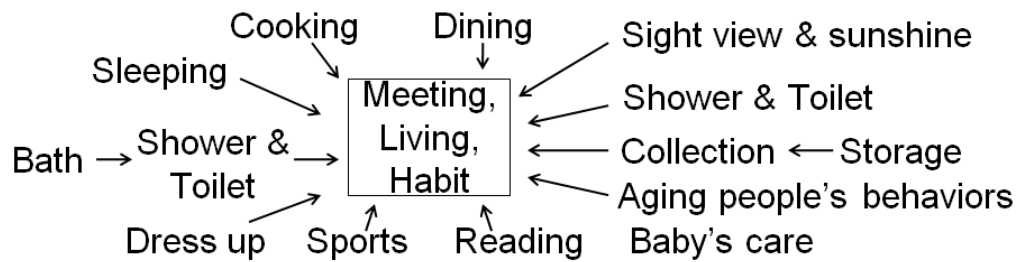


1990s The No. 73 Style department in Wenchang

Figure 6.9 The style of NO. 73 apartment in Wenchang Community in the 1990s

Source: Author's interview survey, 2015

In the 1990s, dwelling space mainly been divided into 3-4 separated space according to the different using functions. Figure 6.9, all family members can have individual space, and the basic needs and functions of dining, cooking, sleeping and drying clothes have also been separated; although there are some restrictions, for example, the functions of drying clothes and storage are both in balcony (Figure 6.5).



After 2000s the new style department in Wenchang.

Figure 6.10 New style apartments in Wenchang Community in the 2000s

Source: Author's interview survey, 2015

As households had more demands for a new lifestyle after 2000, interest, hobbies, individual personalities and housing styles also changed from “accommodation” to “multi-function style” (Figure 6.10). Diverse behaviours of daily life have been separated in space; each activity has its own space. For instance, a dining room is for dining, a reading room is for reading, and there are two toilets respectively within two bedrooms, so residents have more privacy and convenience. Besides the satisfying accommodation, the demands of hobbies and interests can also be developed in these new flats. For instance, personal art collections can be considered as a development of home storage (Figure 6.6).

The dramatic changes in housing qualities impressed local residents; many of them shared memories of their housing changes. Specifically, Mr Wang, an old local resident, aged 64 years old, recalled the details of how using the toilet had improved out of all recognition.

Toilet using changes: from public toilet to comfortable toilets

It was before 1990, the toilet problem was beyond imagination in Wenchang, most local residents can only solve this by using a stinkpot in bedroom. You may not like to imagine: in a little space bedroom, squatting behind a temporary curtain, trying to finish as soon as possible, left terrible smelling very uncomfortable, and all these toilet waste collections must be taken out to a dung-cart in the next daybreak otherwise it will be deposited in room over a whole day.

10 households were residential in one corridor, shared a kitchen and toilet, or you had to walk as far as half a kilometre to a public toilet, usually a long queue is waiting to use the toilet in morning, and it never happen that someone gives way to you, because everyone was burning with impatience in that second.

People were also afraid of the “landmine” at night, as toilets’ bulbs were often taken away by someone in the era of material deprivation. Then, a group of naughty boys would have a pitch-dark place for playing a tricky game, which was quite disgusting, they were shitting in narrow passage, before someone using toilet at night who might get this “bonus”. As a last resort, we would never go to use it at night but trying finish in an empty place if it just pees. Very sly, I was just like a thief every second, preparing stop peeing any second if anybody

coming, it was so uncomfortable and embarrassing. And girls even had more difficulties on these, I had no idea how they solved these actually, probably they got up at midnight pouring it into the gutter gingerly.

After middle 1990s, nothing has changed. We still lived in this small space, using public outdoor toilet as before, and having to bring an umbrella if raining. Our colleagues and neighbours have reported toilet problem to directors many times, never received a formally response. But we all understood this as factory benefits going down in the middle 1990s, that it cannot require improving living quality; and I even heard that the director may not have a flat with an independent toilet.

At the end of 2001, our household finally got a new flat of two bedrooms, one living room, and an independent toilet. Two years later, our family has become dissatisfied with our flat as using only one toilet in morning. Then, three of our family agreed to exchange a new one of more rooms and two toilets. In 2008, we moved into this newly decorated flat. Today, when I am sitting on flushing toilet in a relaxing morning, I feel much better (Interview, Mr Wang, 2015).

6.4.2 The traditional neighbourhood: unchanged

There were no changes in housing quality in traditional neighbourhoods areas from the 1980s, but this grew even worse as a growing number of migrants moved in.

There was no independent shower, toilet or kitchen – dwellers usually had to cook and boil water outside (Figure 6.11), wash faces in temporary washbasins (Figure 6.12), and go to the public bathroom (Figure 6.13) which had already existed for a couple of years (Interviews with locals, 2015). As more migrant residents moved in, this resulted in higher pressure on the local infrastructure and housing facilities, which the old landlords were too old to improve.



Figure 6.11 Boiling water



Figure 6.12 Temporary washing



Figure 6.13 Public bath

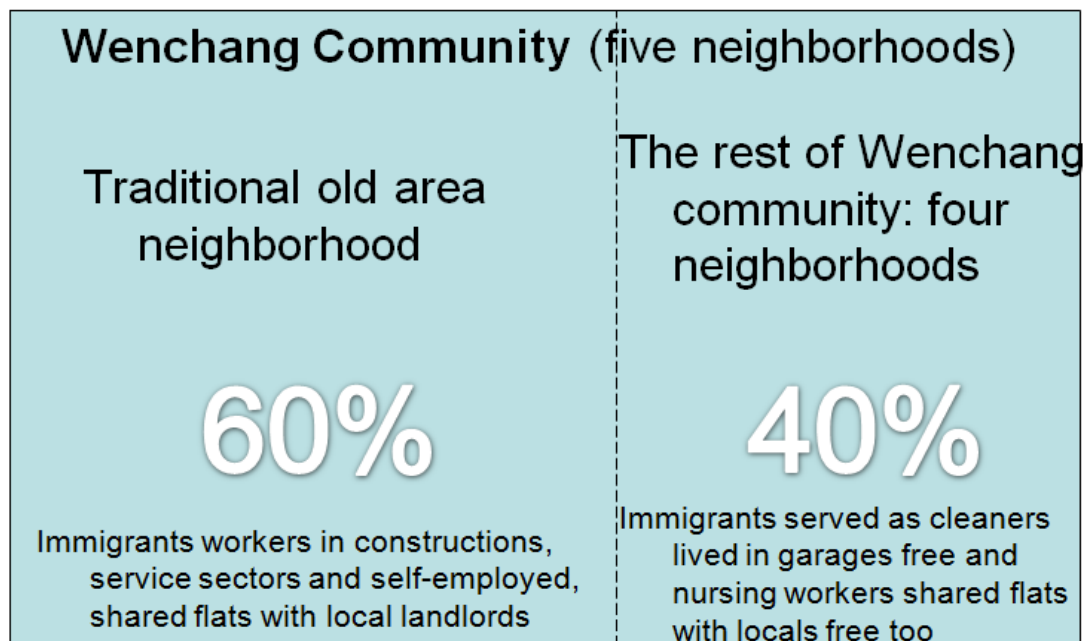
Source: Author's field studies survey, 2015

Migrants have less respect for local living habits, never taking rubbish and dirty toilets to the fixed point, which further increased the conflict between locals and migrants.

"Their personal hygiene standards are very low, I should say this, because they have been told many times that everyone who lives here should take the dirty water and other rubbish out to the appointed areas, but they just leave those things anywhere" (Interview, 63 years old, Ms. He, 2015).

6.4.3 Migrants' residential changes: unbalanced, work-oriented, temporary

Over 60% of the total migrant population live in the traditional neighbourhood of Wenchang; 40% are in the other four neighbourhoods (Figure 6.14), and migrants have different jobs and living environments in neighbourhoods.



Immigrants residential structure in Wenchang Community 2015

Figure 6.14 Migrants' resident population structure of Wenchang 2015

Source: Author's field studies survey, 2015

The traditional neighbourhood: over half migrants

Besides the cheaper housing in the traditional neighbourhood of Wenchang, it also provided enough storage space for working tools and diverse items for those migrants working in housing decoration and small businesses (Figure 6.15). The questionnaire data showed that around 60% of migrant residents shared accommodation with locals in the traditional neighbourhood (Figure 6.16).



Figure 6.15 Traditional old neighb.



Figure 6.16 The garage of XXLS neighbourhood

Source: Author's field studies survey, 2015

The remaining neighbourhoods: less migrant residents

But the remaining four neighbourhoods (XXLS, WCHY, No. 73 and YXSJ) in Wenchang only have roughly 40% of the total migrant residents (roughly 10% in each neighbourhood) (Figure 6.14). These mostly serve as cleaners, maintainers of elevators, or domestic helpers.

Usually the cleaners can free live in warehouses or garages arranged by their property management company (Figure 6.16), but there are no windows, kitchens or toilets, and they are quite humid and hot in summer, and chilly and wet in winter. While they are still quite satisfied with the quality of their housing, staying with their spouse is preferable for migrant workers:

"It is ok to live here, my wife as the cleaner works in a nearby fresh market, and the company let her live with me here without any charge, so what can I complain? I just hope no one forces us to leave" (Interview, Mr Lin, 57 years old).

And typical domestic helpers of migrant workers in Wenchang are middle-aged females, living with old people, in order to look after them conveniently (Figure 6.6), but they have little privacy and are quite lonely.

"I have only been back hometown three times over past 11 years, because the old man needs my caring every day, and his adult children preferring paying me more when I decided to go back hometown. I felt very lonely sometime, when my two boys have grown up, but can only talk once a week by telephone, but my family need money" (Ms Chen, 56 years old, family nurse).

Most migrants are young or middle-aged, and would usually prefer to live with their families as much as they can, to support each other in city life and working, and also to save daily life costs. They wish to save enough money before going back to their home town, or even to bring their families (children, senior parents) to the city. As the questionnaires data showed, most migrants live with relatives, 73% with their spouse, 45.5% have brought children with them, only 5% live with their senior parents in the city, and 7% live alone (Figure 6.14).

Migrants' residential places: as temporary

97.5% of total migrants move less three times, so it can generally reflect the main characteristics of migrants' moving by studying the three changes of residential (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 The changes of migrants living conditions

	1st move	2nd move	3rd move
Length of living	24.5% are less 2 years, 75.5% over 3 years	22.5% within 2 years, 78.5% over 3 years	5% within 2 years, 85 % over 3 years
Living places	Dormitory, working place	working place, rent in cheaper housing	working place, cheaper housing, living in garages
Living area	79.5% are less than 30 m ² and 1.5% are over 100 m ²	71% are less than 30 m ² , 4.5% are over 100 m ²	69.5% are less 30 m ² , 4.5% are over 100 m ²
Reasons of moving	90.5% related to working, 6.5% because of bigger areas	88.5% related to working, 6% because of bigger areas	88% related to working, 8.5% because of bigger areas, family factors
Facilities	No independent kitchen or bathroom	No independent kitchen, no bathroom or drainage	No independent kitchen, bathroom, toilet, drainage
With whom	Single or with work mates	Spouse and children	Spouse, children, senior parents

Source: Based on author's questionnaires and interview survey, 2015

Generally, housing conditions have changed little in terms of areas, facilities and types over the three times (Table 6.2), and the changes can be summarised into three points:

One of the trends is that migrants tend to “live with family members” rather than “living alone”. In the first move, some lived in their workplaces alone or a factory dormitory with colleagues; a few could live with relatives or friends. The situation changed little in the second move, but they started preferring to rent cheaper housing nearby their work places. In the third move, “living with children” increased significantly from 8% in the second move to 45% of the third time, and a few of them could even bring senior parents.

Secondly, “Convenient for working”, and other factors such as “improving living conditions” or “enlarging living areas”, have always been the dominant factors for residential choices. As the data showed, most migrants preferred living in Wenchang because it is “nearby working

places”, and they considered it as a temporary living place.

“As a cleaner of Wenchang community, I have been living with my wife over seven years. My payment is not much, but the full job security can guarantee our retirement. Then, we plan going back to our home town, opening a small business and buying a flat for our only child’s marriage” (Interview, Mr Dou, 49 years old, 2015).

Thirdly, a temporary living place downtown has the advantages of a good location, cheaper housing, and social networking.

“I lived in Jiangbei district before, as a worker in a glass factory, but learned nothing staying over 2 months, so I decided to move to my brother’s place (Wenchang), and started doing another job of “housing decoration”; as one team, we are living, working and learning together, to finally have our own business” (Mr Deng, 30 years old, 2015).

Accommodation changes of the migrants were mostly because of “working” rather than “living better”, especially living in downtown residential areas. Un-regenerated traditional neighbourhoods can satisfy many demands in terms of location, being cheaper, storage and social networking, and became a suitable temporary home for some where they could successfully settle down.

6.5 Leisure changes: diversified, adaptation

6.5.1 Locals’ leisure: from work-oriented to diversified

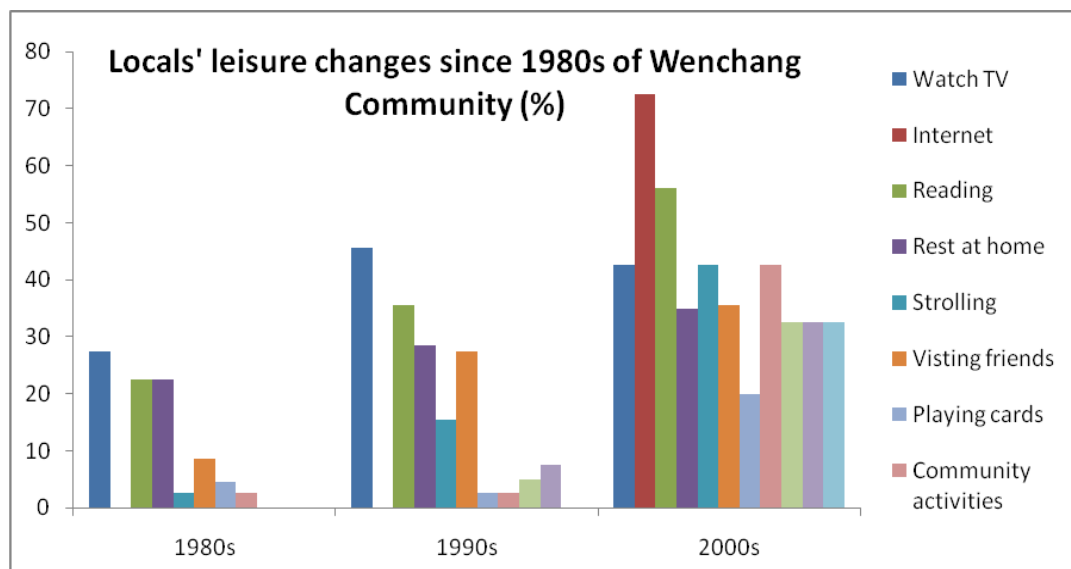


Figure 6.17 Locals’ leisure changes of Wenchang since 1980

Source: Author’s questionnaires survey, 2015

From “simple, bored” to “enrich and multiple”, the ways of entertainment in daily life dramatically changed over past three decades (Figure 6.17).

In the 1980s and 1990s: work-oriented

Entertainment life was simple and boring in the 1980s and 1990s; 22% of total residents’ entertainment was only “watching TV at home”; 18% spent time “visiting relatives”, 45% were “going nowhere but at home”. This situation changed slightly in the 1990s (Figure 6.17).

“We have little entertainment or social activities except the social events organised by our factory, like Annual Sports Game or the Annual Award Presentation, etc., but less of us like to attend these kinds of events, because we are too busy to prepare, unless our director asked me to do it; and we even have no such word: “entertainment”, we only use the word “spare time after working”, such word is no different from the words for “after-hours”, because we are too busy every day, only like to have a rest or sleeping after working hours” (Interview, Mr Zhang, 55 years old).

People had no idea that “after-hours” could be “leisure time” and deserved relaxation, but believed that all parts life were oriented towards their factory:

“I have a break because this may let me work efficiently later” (Interview, Mr Zhang, 55 years old). Even the aims of sports games and social activities were to increase teamwork in industry, instead of pure relaxation and enjoyment. So they had few complaints about these, because *“The teamwork spirit in factory is important, and eventually this would influence industry development”* (Interview, Mr Zhang, 55-year-old).

In the 1980s and 1990s: local culture declining

Rapid urbanisation brought a dramatic enrichment of materials, and more diverse activities, social events and sports after 2000, but also forced some local culture to disappear (Liu and Cao, 2006).

“When we were small, most of the day we played outside, the cards, climbing the trees, hunting rabbits and mice, which were all good, not like this generation, playing piano, learning, drawing or dancing indoors, too boring” (Interview, Mr Qiang, 35-year-old).

The local culture of downtown Ningbo gradually faded in the 1980s, for example Tuilong cards, riddle game, embroidery, and song fans (Siming Nanci) (Figure 6.18).



Figure 6.18 Performance of Siming Nanci in Ningbo **Figure 6.19 Original Literatures**
Resources: Jin, Xingshegn, Siming-Nanci(四明南词), Zhejiang Photography press, 2009

One of the examples is Siming Nanci (Figure 6.18 and 6.19), also named “Ningbo Wenshu”. It has been popular for over three hundred years in Ningbo, but has been declining since the 1940s for historical and social reasons (war time), although it started to be revived due to the protection and development by local governments and cultural organisations in the 1990s (Jin, 2009).

In the 2000s and 2010s: enriched, more individual

The ways of leisure and recreation increased in the 2000s, including physical fitness, learning calligraphy, playing chess and cards, reading newspapers and books, cooking classes, and carrying out the tea ceremony (Interviews survey, 2015). For example, over 70% of the total population engage in “internet surfing”, and 55% in “reading”.

“I thought “going to cinema” was an expensive thing of our life; nowadays, our family not only goes to cinemas, but also often goes to Ningbo Opera for different opera, attends some free social activities, including some talking about health in Baoyugang Library, and Yue Opera in Zhongshan Park, so we are really happy and satisfied nowadays” (Interviews, 61-year-old Mr Wang, 2015).

There has been a big shift in the understanding of “leisure activities” over the past three decades, from “very luxurious” and “oriented by working” in the 1980s, to “part of daily life” nowadays.

Local culture and heritage: protection

Problems of local culture fading have been emphasised by local authorities since 2007. For example, bureaus arranged 4,000 questionnaires and 470 interviews in Haishu District (Wenchang community is one of the 75 communities), to collect data on local traditional

intangible heritage, including folk literature, dancing, handiwork technologies, local custom and ceremonies, entertainments and traditional games. Finally eight books of Ningbo Traditional Intangible Heritage, total 1,308 pages, were published in 2009 (Figure 6.20) (Traditional Intangible Heritage in Ningbo, 2009).

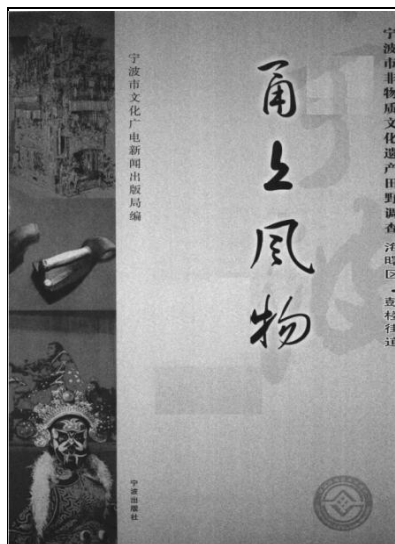


Figure 6.20 Book of Traditional Intangible Heritage, Gulou of Ningbo

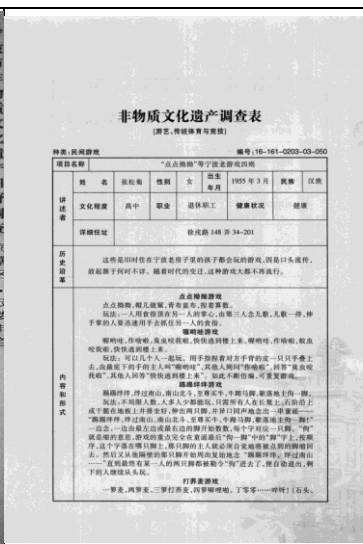


Figure 6.21 An example of interview about local traditional play, Page 141

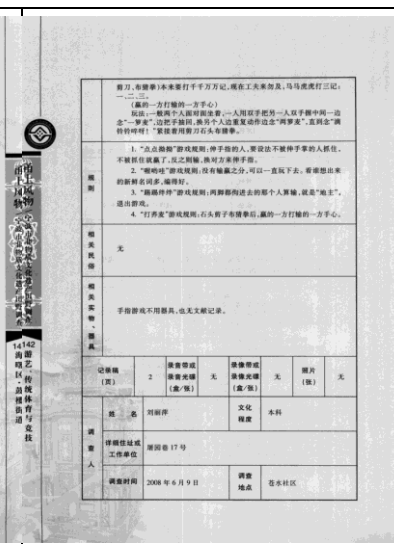


Figure 6.22 An example of interview about kids' play, Page 142

Resource: Traditional intangible heritage in Ningbo, Ningbo Press, 2009

Figure 6.21 and Figure 6.22 are the records of an interview about children's play based on a 60-year old woman's telling. She described four kinds of children's playing from the 1960s to the 1980s, the rules, the form and the content. Yet, most of the residents interviewed were unfamiliar with the types of intangible heritage, except for a few old people who had heard some local stories and vaguely remembered some children's playing (Interview survey, 2015).

6.5.2 Migrants: less leisure, but adapted

For most migrants, leisure and entertainment are still a luxury nowadays. Eighty-two per cent of total migrants have "no time for any leisure", 28% are "staying at home", and even 12% of them considered "sitting outside" as relaxing, mainly because they have too much working pressure.

"My wife and I have three jobs as cleaners, each needs 8 hours a day, from 4am to 12 noon, then second job is from 12 noon 8pm, so without the support of my wife for preparing lunch and two hours break from 12 am to 2 pm, I cannot sustain; there is no time for anything but work, after the whole day working it is already 8pm, then directly go to bed after eating something, because tomorrow I still need to get up at 4am" (Interview, Mr Lin, 46 years old 2015).

Many migrants, such as cleaners, are hard workers; they work 16 hours a day and 7 days a

week. Migrants have no time for any kinds of entertainment, but actually they also have their own ways to relax, even during working time (Figure 6.23).



Figure 6.23 Ms Li is playing with her cell phone

Source: Author's field studies survey, 2015



Figure 6.24 Ms Tan usually takes walks in the afternoon

Figure 6.23 shows Ms Li, who is a 43-year old cleaner in XXLS neighbourhood, sitting on the stone and enjoying the music through her smart phone. She told me that “cell phone is really important for me, because I can contact my family anytime, and seeing news and sharing news with my friends”.

Mr Zhao, a 58-year-old cleaner, who cannot use a smart phone, usually sits somewhere out of the room and enjoys the sunshine, because usually he can finish work earlier and do nothing for the rest of the day.

Ms Tan (Figure 6.24) is a family nurse taking care of an old man living in YXSJ neighbourhood, “*My work requires me to stay with him the whole time, but I can also own my time about two hours afternoon, because he is sleeping then, so I come out, chat to someone and have a short walk*” (Interview, Ms Tan, family nurse, 2015).

So, most migrant workers have no time for leisure, but can adjust themselves to have some time relaxing, according to their working schedules and strengths.

6.6 Public service and infrastructure changes: from basic to enriched

The Department of Housing Construction in Beijing 2004 issued a new regulation of “Urban Residential District urban planning and Design Standards” (China Government, 2006).

Community service and infrastructure can be classified into eight clusters: education, health, culture & sports, business services, finance and telecommunications, community services, municipal utilities and administration. Hence, following this category and based on the data of the questionnaires and interviews, the changes in the facilities and infrastructure of Wenchang have been summarised since the 1980s (Table 6.3). This information includes diverse shops,

restaurants, repair shops, fresh markets, supermarkets, finance, gym, schools, libraries and green parks; these have been enumerated and divided into these clusters. According to the needs of daily life, these public services have also being classified into four groups: necessities of daily life, material life, social life and public service and infrastructure. Generally, all public facilities and services have dramatically improved in the past in Wenchang, specifically in the domains of “Material Life” and “Social Life” (Table 6.3). For instance, there was no “Nursing” and “Culture, Social and Sports” in the 1980s and 1990s, and these increased to 7 and 5 respectively in the 2000s.

Table 6.3 The infrastructure and public service of Wenchang since the 1980s

Contents	Classification	1980s	1990s	Since 2000
<i>Necessities of daily life</i>	Variety shops	1	2	1
	Small restaurants	2	3	5
	Repair shop (appliances) and hair cut	1	2	4
	Vegetable market	1	1	3
<i>Material life</i>	Supermarket/ fresh market/bakery/snacks	0	1	7
	Home decoration	0	0	3
	Health: SPA/hairdressing & beauty/face-lift/massage	0	1	6
	Nursing: infant & babies/housekeeping/Chinese medical massage	0	0	7
	Finance: lotteries/investing and consulting	0	0	3
	Clothing shop/tailor/shoe shop/automobile/delivery	0	1	4
<i>Social life</i>	Stationer/book store/ printing shop	0	1	4
	Education: kindergarten	0	0	2
	Culture, social & sports: coffees/tearooms/ Reading room/ Chess and card room/ Mahjong/ Sports centre	0	1	5
	Catering: hotel	0	0	4
	Administrative institutions	1	1	1
<i>Public service and infrastructure</i>	Culture & sports: garden/public square/library	2	2	5
	Education: kindergarten, primary and middle schools	2	2	3
	Community service: large-scale fresh market	0	1	2
	Finance & telecommunication: banks/Post Office	1	1	5
	Hospitals/clinic	1	1	2

Resources: Based on interviews and observation in Wenchang, 2014-2015

1. In the 1980s: public services and facilities were in short supply, only existing in a few necessities of daily life and public facilities in Wenchang, including one variety shop, one small restaurant, one hairdresser’s shop, one fresh market, one bank, one Post Office and one library, which can only provide basic daily life needs. Residents’ living conditions were at a low level regarding goods’ quality and food safety, as (Figure 6.26A) showing that foods and vegetables are randomly placed on the ground in a local variety shop.

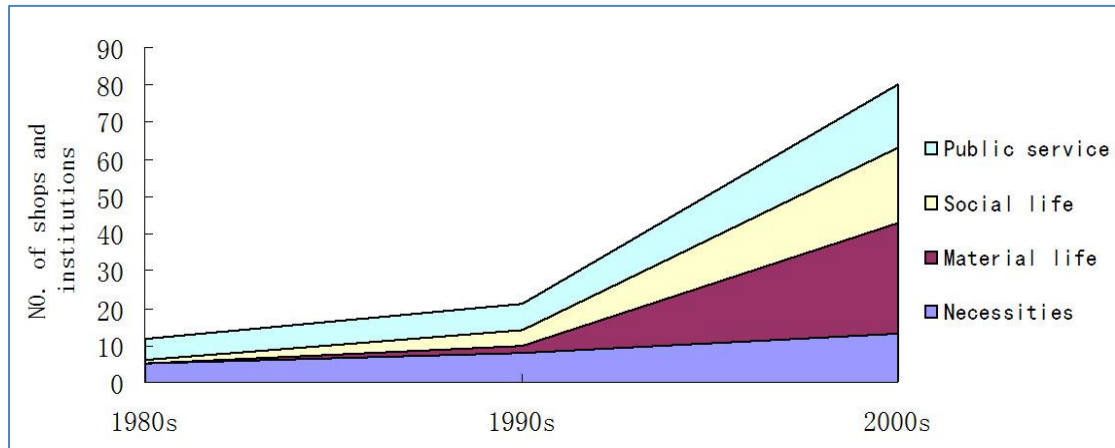


Figure 6.25 Changes of public services and infrastructure since 1980

Source: Author's questionnaires survey, 2014-2015

2. In the late 1990s: The situation changed, when a new small supermarket, a clothing shop and a Chinese traditional massage shop opened (Table 6.3).



A. Traditional variety shop, Wenchang

B. Current supermarket, Wenchang



C. Locals are playing Mahjong-Tuilong

D. Enjoying the free opera in Z.S. Park

Figure 6.26 Leisure in daily life, Wenchang

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

"We have been used to buying food and commodities in variety shop before, usually shopkeepers gave me what I needed; but everything completely changed in late 1990s when I

went to this supermarket, so surprised that all goods are good and very clean, I can pick up anything I need before paying, all are so convenient” (Interview, Mr Zhao, 2015).

Figure 6.26 B shows the significant progress in goods’ quality and quantity, compared to the traditional one.

3. Since the 2000s: community public service development and facilities construction have been speeded up (Figure 6.25). Firstly, a new bus station was built in the west of Wenchang, and the gas supply system, water supply and drainage system were also strengthened from 2005 to 2008 (Interviews of Wenchang CC, 2015).

Moreover, Figure 6.25 shows that the total quantity of public services have dramatically grown, from 12 in the 1980s to 21 in the 1990s, and to 80 in the 2000s (Table 6.3), specifically in the sectors of social life and material life, which include a gym, swimming pool, chess room, reading room, dancing studio, SPA and beauty centre, book store, pet store, coffee bar, tea room, different kinds of snack shop, bath centre and clothing shop. These all appeared in the main streets of the community, so the residents had more choices. As (Figure 6.26 C) shows, some local residents are playing Mahjong with neighbourhoods.

Meanwhile, the three public parks of Yongjiang Park, Zhongshan Park and Yingxing Park, close to the community, have also been reconstructed and built up successively by local authorities over the past two decades. Hence, many local residents are practising square dancing, singing together and jogging in public places in parks. (Figure 6.26 D) shows people enjoying a free local opera in Zhongshang Park.

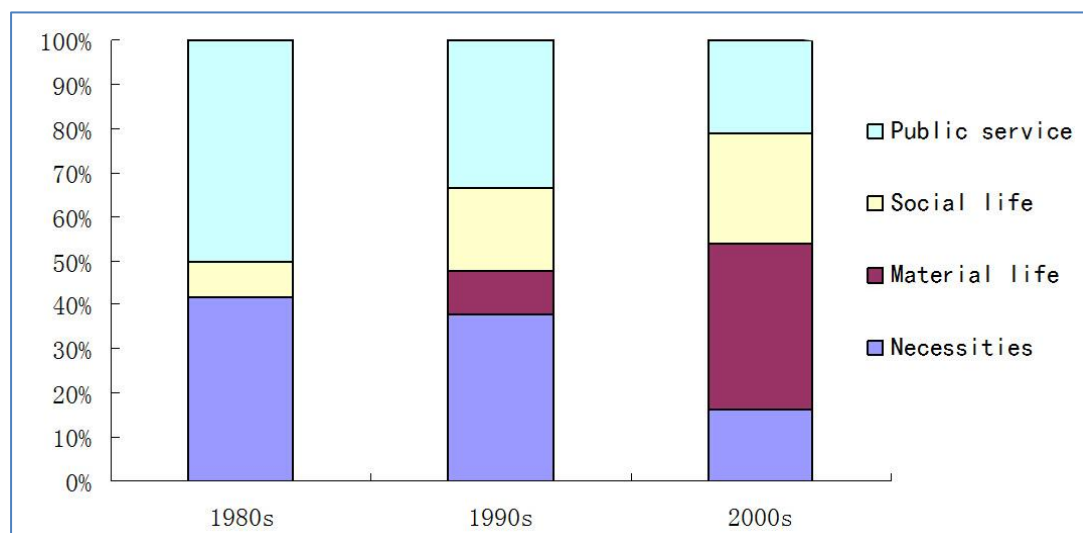


Figure 6.27 Public service and infrastructure changes since 1980

Source: Author’s questionnaires survey, 2015

Lastly, leisure activities became diversified. Figure 6.27 generally describes that the percentage of “public service” and “necessities of life” are decreasing, but “social life” and “material life” have grown over the past decades, accounting for 62.5% of all public service and infrastructure in Wenchang nowadays. So the sections changed from “public service and necessities of life”, to “social and material life”, which demonstrated that the enrichment of community public facilities made leisure activities prosper in daily life nowadays, providing the services of dining, beauty and SPA, home decoration, finance and other cultural and sports activities.

6.7 Sense of community: local residents, migrants



Figure 6.28 Neighbourhoods in Wenchang Community, 2014

Source: Ningbo Municipality Statistics Bureau, 2014

Figure 6.28 shows the neighbourhood land structure used in Wenchang nowadays, and it has undergone large changes since 1980. Site C and Site D were a machinery factory and staff quarters (Danwei) in the 1980s; the residents were very familiar with each other, and had few social contacts outside the Danwei areas. But as commercial-residential neighbourhoods (Site C, Site D and Site E) were successively built in the late 1990s, residents of diverse careers, education levels and Hukou (household registration), but similar household incomes, constituted the new neighbours. They were unfamiliar, strangers, less social, and the situation became even complex as more migrant workers moved in in the late 1990s.

The analysis will be divided into two social groups, locals and migrants, due to the very different characteristics of social and daily life.

6.7.1 Locals' sense of community: from "familiar" to "be stranger"

From Danwei Ren (person of Danwei) to a resident of a market-oriented neighbourhood, locals' self-identity has changed dramatically over the past decades. But how these changes affect individuals and what are the differences between the old and the young? Based on the questionnaires and the interviews, the following sections review the changes.

1. Danwei in the 1980s: Danwei Ren (a person belong to the Danwei)

Danwei (Site C) together with traditional local neighbourhoods (Site D) were the dominant type of Wenchang in the 1980s and early 1990s, as colleagues and neighbourhoods and local residents had unique close relationships. As the residential and production areas of Ningbo Machinery Factory, Danwei, had fences and walls defining its boundary, any non-locals could only gain access after checking in with the gate keepers, and all basic daily life needs, including social activities, consumption, communication and administrative things, could be achieved within the Danwei area. For example, the Worker Activity Center of Danwei was in charge of organising social activities and playing movies; as they shared social and leisure activities together for decades, local residents shared more collective consciousness and memories, gradually identifying themselves as the Danwei Persons (Danwei Rens).

"There was one Workers Activities Centre and two stores in our neighbourhood, and I usually participated in the activities, such as poetry reading, dancing party and singing competition, organised by our Danwei. It was a deficient era in terms of everything in the 1980s, but I really miss that memory, the most wonderful in my life." (Interview, Mr Deng, 67 years old, 2015).

Local residents' social activities, community management and daily life mostly happened within their residential community areas, which existed as a system very independent from the city, so simply it means social space matching the physical space in Danwei. Their sense of community was formed in these limitations of Danwei, as well as their community attachment (Zhang, 2006).

2. Commercial-residential neighbourhoods after 1998: be stranger

As the welfare housing system ended in 1998, three market-oriented neighbourhoods, WCHY (Site C), YXSJ (Site E) and XXLS (Site D) (Figure 6.28), were built up successively in Wenchang. So people of different backgrounds could purchase properties to live here, and from being a “Danwei Ren” of the Danwei system to “a housing customer” of the market system, community attachments have undergone very significant changes.

(1) Familiar in old neighbourhoods, but stranger in new neighbourhoods

Generally, most residents like socialising with relative and friends rather than neighbourhoods. When answering “Who do you usually contact?” 52.5% total residents selected “friends”, 57.5% “colleagues”, only 32% socialised with “neighbours” and 29% with “relatives” (Questionnaire survey, 2015). However, the situation is very different in different residential neighbourhoods.

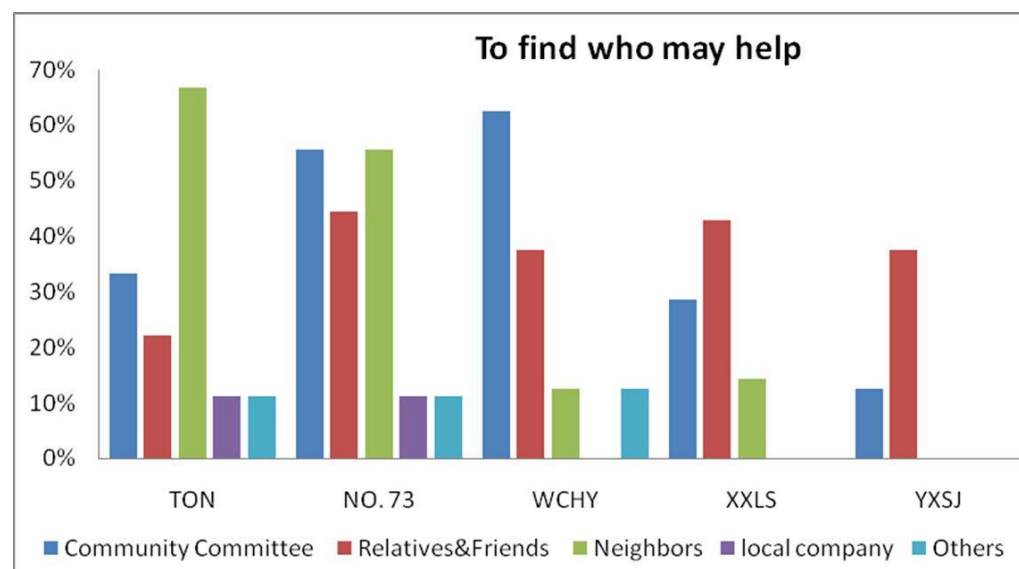


Figure 6.29 who may help

Source: Author’s questionnaires survey, 2015

TON: (Traditional Old Neighbourhoods) (Land A); No. 73: (No. 73 Resettlement Neighbourhoods) (Land B); WCHY: (Wenchang-Huayuan Neighbourhoods) (Land C); XXLS: (Xiangxie-Lishe Neighbourhoods) (Land D); YXSJ: (Yinxing-siji Neighbourhoods) (Land E);

Figure 6.29 shows the answers to “who may initiate help when you have difficulties?” in different neighbourhoods. Basically, residents of TON (traditional old neighbourhood) and of No.73 are more social with their neighbours and the Community Committee than the other residential areas of Wenchang, who mostly seek help from relatives and friends.

Most residents in commercial-residential neighbourhoods (YXSJ of Site E, XXLS of Site D) (Figure 6.28) are young and middle-aged, busy with work, and only can spend a little spare time to socialise; this is with friends and colleagues usually.

“We moved here in 2009, my parents paid the down-payment for our marriage housing. Usually my wife and I are quite busy with work, she works at the bank and I work in a tech-company. So we only meet up friends and colleagues sometime in the weekend.” (Interview, Mr Ning, 34 years old, 2015).

“Because my son and his wife are too busy working, so I came to take care of their baby, and we live together now” (Interview, Ms Ma, 66 years old, 2015).

However, the residents of WCHY (Site C) are mostly old colleagues retired from the Ningbo government, very familiar to each other. So it can usually be seen that *“one resident came back from the fresh market, hand carrying food, met another resident by the apartment entrance, so they had a chat for a while”* (Observation survey, 2015).

However, residents in TON and No. 73 neighbourhoods, are old, with shared similar life experiences, collective memories, dietary habits and dialect, and have been neighbours for generations.

“I always forget paying cash to the public bath, I am too old, but he (owner of the public bath) never complains, and always allows me in firstly, as the friendship and neighbourhoodship over decades” (Interview, Ms Li, 69 Years old, 2015)

And one of the most popular things for locals is playing Mahjong and cards in street corners (Figure 6.26 C).

In addition, residents of different neighbourhoods have little social contact with each other, not only because there is a lack of neighbourhood foundation, but also because there are different household income levels. *“We (I am from XXLS neighbourhood) have little to chat about with them (from TON and No.73 neighbourhoods). Last time, I went shopping with one similar age lady, I preferred a hat but she felt it was too expensive, and forced me to give it up. Then, the whole day was not so happy. So we would never go together with her any more.”* (Interview, Ms Miao, 69 years old, 2015).

(2) Participation by age groups: the older the more participation

Fewer residents are interested in attending community activities, especially in the commercial-residential neighbourhoods. Figure 6.30 describes how frequently residents participate in community activities.

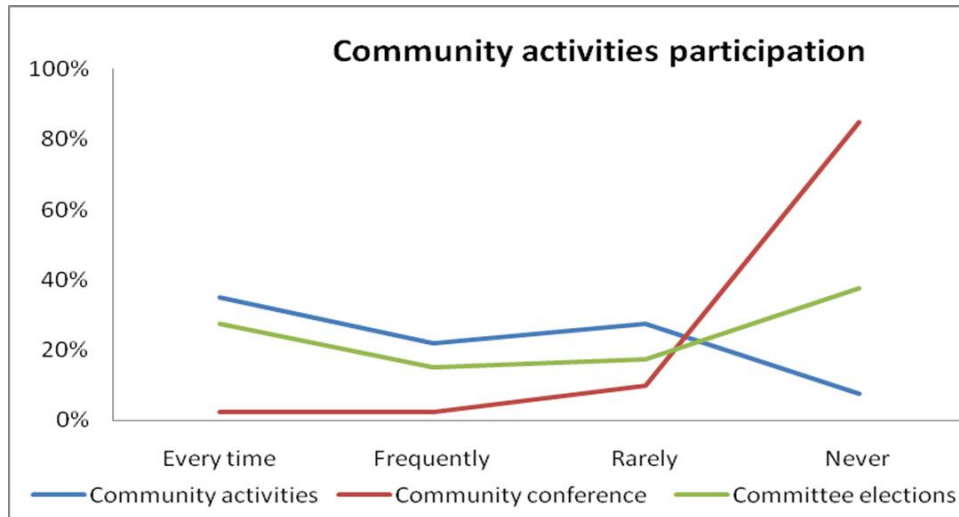


Figure 6.30 Community activities participation, Wenchang

Source: Author's questionnaires survey, 2015

Except “community activities”, 55% of the total residents participated in the social activity of “helping disabilities and the old”, 47.5% “donated to disadvantaged people”, 35% were involved in “security and observation”. Fewer attended “sports”, “training courses” or “management assistant” (Figure 6.30) (Questionnaires survey, 2015) and few residents are interested in “community conferences” or “Community Committee elections”, because “*some members have been decided internally*” (Interview, Mr Ma, 2015), and “*I have no idea of this process, and am not interested at all*” (Interview, Ms Ning, 2015).

Secondly, there are also considerable differences in the activities that residents participate in by age group, as Figure 6.31 shows. Older people like joining in local activities through Community Committees more than the younger generation.

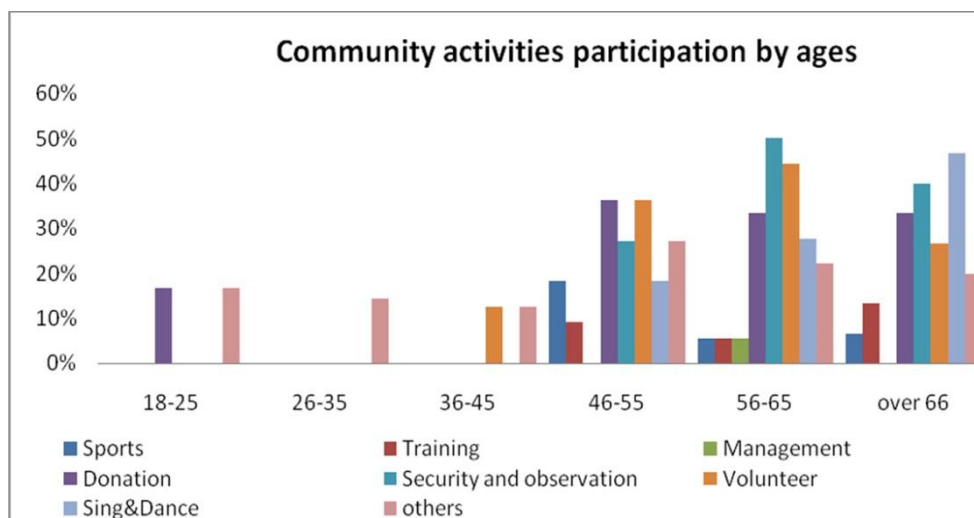


Figure 6.31 Community activities participation by age groups, Wenchang

Sources: Author's questionnaires survey, 2015

Specifically, older residents in TON and No.73 often attend collective social activities, such as dancing and singing. For example, in the preparations of the New Year show in 2015, besides using professional costumes, they invited a music professor to be their supervisor (Interview survey, 2015).

Mr Wang (old local resident from No. 73) mentioned that *“We have a singing team in Wenchang, 28 out of 29 members are from TON and No.73 neighbourhoods.”*

Also, many older people actively participate in activities, because they feel lonely. *“Since I moved to living together with my daughter’s family, I cannot bear their living habits, but cannot speak out. So I can only come to Community Committee as a volunteer helping somebody, to know someone new, and talk.”* (Ms Ye, lived with her daughter’s family in YXSJ, 66 years old, 2015).

But generally, most residents involved in community social activities are older, mostly from the residential areas where they have known each other for a long time. It seems the social activities actually strengthened the original and old social network rather than creating new ones.

(3) Satisfaction degrees by ages: the older the greater

The difference between the young and the old also can be caught in an evaluation of “Life Satisfaction”. The “Health system” line does not show the same relationship as the others (Figure 6.32), because the old need more health resources than the young. The other lines are significantly higher in older groups. For example, the mark of “Living level” is 60 in 18-55 year olds, significantly rising to 173 in the group of over 66-year-olds.

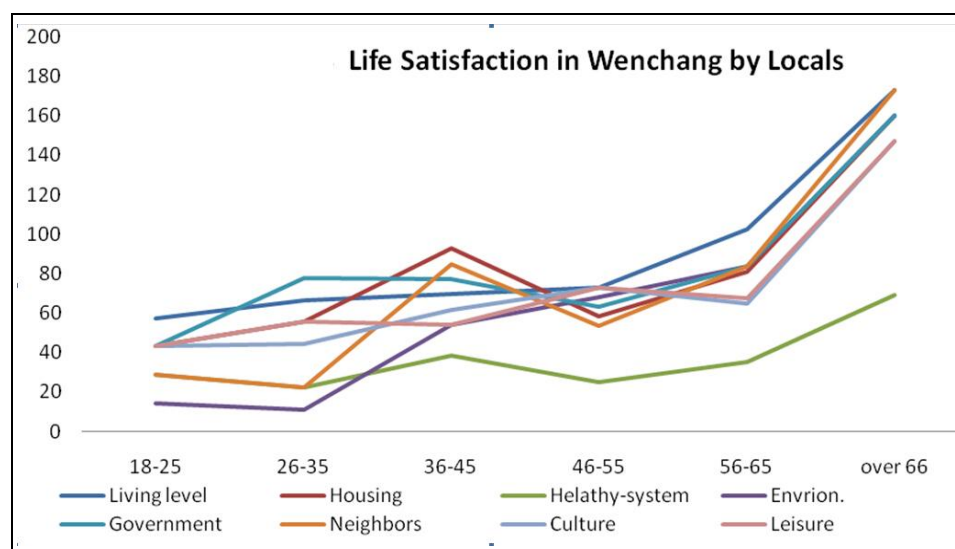


Figure 6.32 Life satisfactions of locals, Wenchang 2015

Sources: Author’s questionnaires survey, 2015

One of the reasons for this is that the old usually had a hard life experience physically and mentally. “People born in the 1940s and 1950s, experienced a hard life, we were forced to join the Down to the Countryside Movement, which the young people would never understand today” (Wang, 2006). Most old aged residents had a hard life experience when they were young, as Mr Ma (66 years old, interview, local resident, 2014) said: *“We have a good life today, and feel very satisfied; we have a rich social life, singing, dancing, hiking and enjoying relaxing in the park.”* Another resident who is in his 30s has different ideas: “Our neighbourhood is no different than others, lacking social space, sports facilities and nothing interesting, so we should have a free swimming pool, just like my friends’ living place” (Interview, Mr Zhang, 31 years old, 2014).

Community infrastructure and public service have substantially improved over the decades, but cannot fully satisfy the rapidly and diversified increasing demand from locals’ daily life, especially the young. For example, the majority were using the public space for dancing practice and the sports facilities are for the old and some middle-aged residents (Figure 6.26).

(4) The young: social life is weaker in local community, but more online

The young are communicating with others through the internet; they share their individual daily details with friends thousands of miles away, but are unfamiliar with neighbours.

“I am the administrator of Douban Reading Club in Ningbo Haishu Community online, my name is “NB-Bookworm”; I usually attend some activities of Douban locally, many online friends know me and my role in Douban Community; well, actually I just joined a reading seminar on “Jane Eyre” yesterday in Gulou” (Interview, Douban Book store cashier, Wenchang, Male, Mr Zeng, 29 years old, 2015) (Figure 6.33).



Figure 6.33 Douban Reading Club meeting in Ningbo, 2015 (Zeng, 2014)
Source: Author’s field survey, 2015



Figure 6.34 Major social media of China
Source: Based on Zhao and Liu (2015)

The internet is open and un-limited, and capable of being endlessly extended. If anyone can communicate through the network, using the same language and communication symbols to share certain information, such as value and executive objectives, then they can be integrated into a new node. (Manuel Castells, 2000, p.570).

Staying indoors rather than going out is the younger generation's preference, socialising outside through cable rather than face-to-face, making new friends, sharing reading and ideas, expressing their working concerns, shopping and travelling experiences (Xia, 2008). The internet has broken the limitations of physical distance; the youth can achieve social interactions by self-identification with many groups of hobbies, life values and individual experiences, to meet their quality of life. Figure 6.34 is a summary of the most popular websites and social platforms in modern China.

The aims of developing infrastructure and services, community sports facilities and culture activities, are not only to enrich residents' daily life, but also to cultivate a sense of community (Xia, 2008). Through participating in different kinds of cultural and social activities, residents who have similar living habits in sports exercise and social activities can freely chat and exchange ideas, gradually cultivating self-identity and a sense of community. But the young have little interest in these activities and using community facilities.



Figure 6.35 Wenchang Weibo, 2015
Source: Wenchang CC, 2015



Figure 6.36 Wenchang website, 2015
Source: Wenchang CC, 2015

Although a number of social media, including the community website (Figure 6.36) Weibo (Micro blog) (Figure 6.35), have been developed since 2011, few local residents knew about it, including young people, because they are little used and slow to update (Interview survey, 2015). Actually, there are only 55 followers of the Wenchang community Weibo, and most reply comments are only repeated comments from one single user name, which means that this is not an active social platform at all (Figure 6.35). Therefore, the issues of how to

arrange community infrastructure and social services, and the most effective ways to develop social media and online systems, in order to involve the young people in the local community, have been the major challenges.

Community attachment: from familiar to weakening, especially the young

Close social interaction has comprehensively faded from Danwei in CRNs over the past three decades. Danwei Ren was the self-identity of most residents in Danwei, and this close community attachment gradually formed through the sharing of collective memories and the attendance of many social activities, oriented by their factory and working units. But as CRNs established in 1998, residents can move to the neighbourhoods by their capability of buying housing, and physical design of the new CRNs, including the high-rise buildings, the fences and the independent apartment types, provided little opportunity for talking, meeting and socialising. This all resulted in the major trend of losing close neighbourhoodship and weakening community attachment, which becomes more significant among the young residents, who have little intention of joining community social activities and possess a weaker sense of community.

6.7.2 Migrants' sense of community: isolation, marginal, stuck

Numerous rural migrant workers from less-developed provinces have moved into cities in recent years. Most work in heavy labour industries, such as infrastructure, construction and manufacturing, which all contribute significantly to urban development (Zhang & Li, 2008).

Most migrants are isolated from urban rules, children's education, the health system, culture and social life because of the Hukou system, which makes them have little self-identity with the city. But for the rural people who have been living in the city for many years, going back to their home town has been impossible. Specifically the younger generation have grown up in cities, have little social interaction and agricultural culture; they have completely lost their connections with their parents' villages. Migrants' senior parents, as another usually ignored social group, usually come to take care of their grandchildren, but few of them can be really involved in local community life because of the very different dialects, weather, food and living habits locally. Some of them have already lost the ability to live independently, so as "floating people" in the city, they have to stay.

1 Social networking: relying on old friends, but started changing

Most rural migrants tend to go to their acquaintances in their original arrival period, including older villagers, friends and relatives, because they lack the basic skills and knowledge of urban life. After adapting to the new life and working environment, they make new friends, colleagues and workmates, and enlarge their social networks. The following two figures are

based on the questions “Who are you going to look to first when you have difficulties?” and “Who do you contact frequently?” describing their social network.

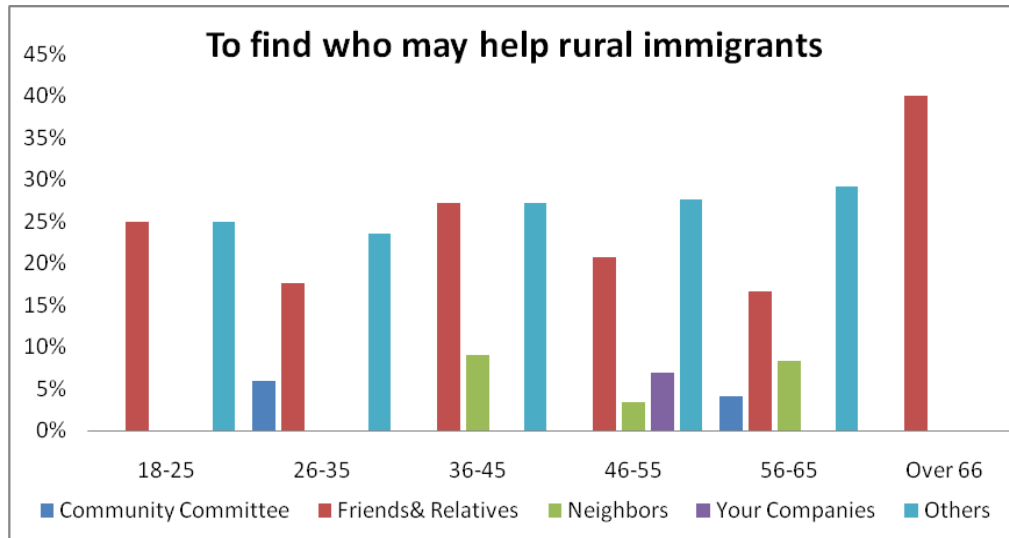


Figure 6.37 To find who may help rural migrants

Source: Author’s questionnaires survey, 2015

Figure 6.37 shows that most migrants rely on “Friends and relatives” of old relationships, rather than “local Community Committee and neighbours” as new relationships.

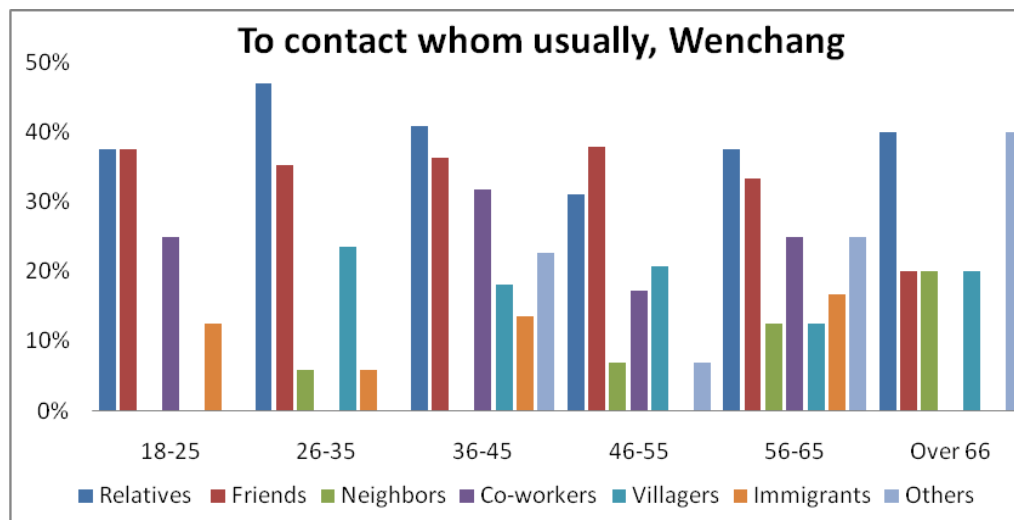


Figure 6.38 Who do you contact usually, Wenchang

Source: Author’s questionnaires survey, 2015

Figure 6.38 describes the answers to the question “Who do you contact usually?” Most migrants’ interpersonal interactions are still “Relatives” and “Friends”, which is about 35% to 40% of all age groups, but less social with other people or local organizations.

“We would not go to local Community Committee, because they only tend to provide a service for locals not migrants” (Mr Deng, migrant-resident of Wenchang, 2015).

Most migrants have to sustain work to support their daily maintenance costs, which occupies all of their time, meaning they have little social interaction with either the community locals or other neighbourhoods. However, their attitudes to CC and local neighbours started changing as they stayed in Wenchang. *“I came to Ningbo in 2006, from Heilongjiang Province. My wife and her family had settled here 7 years ago. In the beginning, I had no job because my disability and heard news that the Community Committee can provide a rent-free store for a shoe repair, so I just applied without any hesitation, and I got it. It is not really totally free, only charged 10 RMB/month.”* (Interview, Mr Zou, shoe repair man, 42 years old, 2015). His store is just nearby the community main road, so he often says hello to any resident passing by, or replies with a smile.

Another example is a cleaner, worked in Wenchang for nine years, who also expressed a good impression of the local CC.

“As the cleaners in Wenchang, my wife and I have served for over nine years. Although we have no local Hukou, the problem was our child’s education. I decided to try Wenchang CC for help because none of my relatives and friends had solutions before, and they did help us that child went to school after only three weeks, for this I was really appreciative.” (Interview, Ms Li, cleaner, 46 years old, 2015).

Ms Zhou, the director of the CC, mentioned that the committee is familiar with his situation, and helped him contact another school after the local one refused his request due to overcrowding. The local education bureau even gave them the chance to apply for free schooling. Ms Zhou also mentioned that his sister also came and worked as a cleaner in Wenchang because of his insistent recommendation (Interview, Ms Zhou, Direction of Wenchang CC, 2015).

2. The seniors: becoming marginal people

One of the self-identity trends is that the young are more likely to consider themselves as locals, the older more as migrants, and many young migrants growing up in cities have more opportunities of jobs and urban cultural adaptations than the older individuals. Figure 6.39 describes the fact that the young regard themselves more as “new Ningbo citizens”.

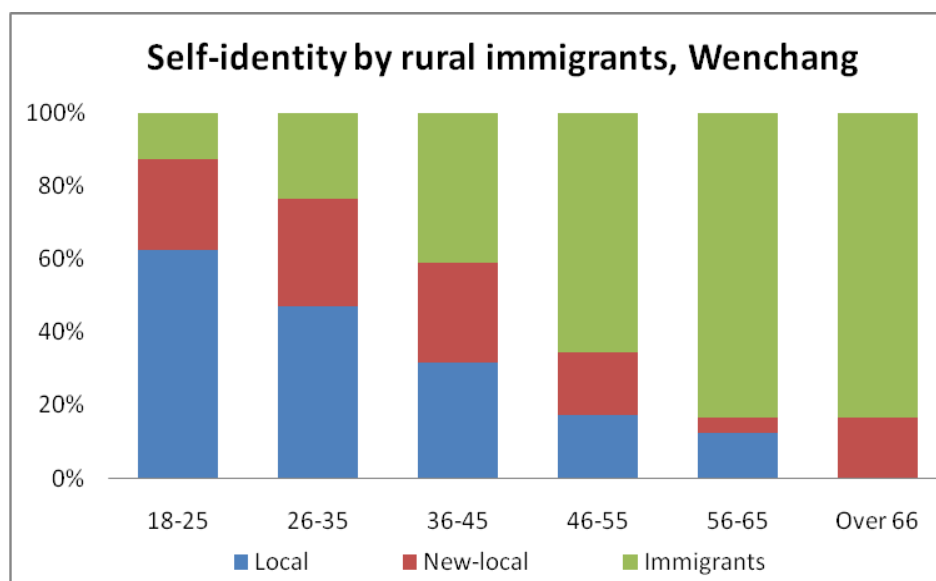


Figure 6.39 Self-identity of rural migrants, Wenchang

Sources: Author's questionnaires survey, 2015

On the contrary, mostly to take care of their grandchildren, a gradually increasing number of senior migrants have come to Ningbo city. As parents of young migrants, they had more difficulties adapting to the new urban life, being called “Piaoma-Piaoba” (the floating mother and father), and being an ignored social group, despite accounting for almost 10% of the total migrant populations.

“There was no specific investigation of this social group in terms of quantity, population structure and living status until now, but according to our community Police Substation, Civil Administration Office and other institutions, we have estimated a certain number of these senior people, roughly about 200-300 in our Community” (Interview, Miss Zhou, Director of Wenchang CC, 2015).

The difficulties are comprehensive in local dialect, food habits and urban life. For example, Ms Zhang, 71 years old, from HeilongJiang Province, northeast of China, lost her husband 11 years ago. As her adult sons successively settled in Ningbo, she decided to live with them, they thought their mother would like to live here, due to a large number of similar aged residents in this old neighbourhood. However, Ms Zhang never made new friends over the 7 years, simply because she cannot understand other people's accents, when the locals are doing body exercises and chatting in the park. Ms Zhang felt so lonely as she could not follow what they were talking about. And her adult children's families were too busy with working to give enough consideration to her feelings, and her grandchildren's generation play on computer games rather than talking to their grandmother. As a result, Ms Zhang has become taciturn; she mentioned going back to her home town many times, but this was totally refused by her sons because they think she cannot live independently (Interview of Ms Zhang, 71 years old,

2015). Senior age migrants have become the marginal people in urban life, never going back to their home village.

Another example is Ms Ding, 71 years old, from Xinjiang Province, who lived with her daughter's family in Wenchang one year ago, in order to take care of her grandchild and help with the domestic chores. But it seems that she cannot really help too much, since her daughter bought a washing machine and a cleaning robot, and her son-in-law likes take-away food back home. She even cannot go out independently since she got lost when she tried to go home from the vegetable market two months ago. And she had little interest in locals' activities, chatting and playing Mahjong, but she missed her garden in her home village. Again, she expressed the wish of going back to her home village, and believed that her real home is Xinjiang, but her daughter's home is Ningbo (Based on interview of Ms Ding, 70 years old, 2015).

Leaving the places which are familiar, the culture and old social networks, occurs because of the wish to come and live with their adult children's families. However, on most occasions, they are dropped into a dilemma, hardly adapting to urban life and unable to return home independently, eventually becoming the most marginal social group of urban society and the system.

3. Social integration: stuck

Rural migrants moving to cities can be understood as a social integration process, it is a mutual influence between the subject of migrants and the object of the social environment. The integration extent depends on their living capability in modern society and the intention and motivation of getting involved in the local community. It also depends on how the legislation, society and living environment can reduce social exclusion, providing adequate social policies, job opportunities and individual social networks.

Migrants' social networks, sources of family, blood and hometownship, are a double-edged sword. They provided useful news of job opportunities, cheaper accommodation and experiences of working and urban life adaption in their arrival periods, but they did not help them to establish new social networks in the urban living environment, or to create new opportunities. They lacked useful information on children's education, jobs and career development, because their similar backgrounds of jobs, education and working environment eventually hampered their further involvement in community life (Interview survey, 2015).

Their marginal status is even visible mentally. According to an investigation "The workers team and status" by ACFTU (All Federation of Trade Unions) in 2012, "migrant worker" as one job type, was ranked the bottom one by the categories of social status, revenues and career prospects. They contribute significantly to urbanisation and industrialisation in cities,

but do not receive their deserved payment, in social status, welfare guarantees, cultural identity and social involvement. They and their families are trapped in cities, never really settling down in the urban society and system, or going back to rural society.

6.8 Administration changes: from Danwei system to CC and SWCC

In Wenchang of Ningbo, changes in government administration at a community level can be summarised as consisting of three phases since the 1980s: the Danwei system, Community Committee (CC) administration, and CC with Social workers (SWCC). As power shifted from governments to dwellers, NGOs and social groups, residents may have more opportunities to participate in community development and planning.

6.8.1 The Danwei system in the 1980s and early 1990s

In the era of China's planned economy, with its absolute monopoly on power and resources, the government managed urban residential communities as a complete and basic unit of the national system, involving its fundamentally "national centralised" style, meaning highly centralised power in a top-down organisational structure (Chen, 2004). This residential community was called "Danwei" or "Danwei community", and was the most basic grassroots organisation of the national unitary structure in the 1980s. As an all-round governmental organisation, it is not only in charge of the social administration, including welfare, security, education, birth control and family planning, and nursing, but also of supervising individual employment, and the production and manufacture of the Danwei (as a state-run enterprise).

Danwei as an integrated unit of productive and residential space

Before the 1990s, Wenchang consisted mainly of the local traditional neighbourhoods, and a Danwei community of the No. 2 Ningbo Machinery Plant, a state-owned enterprise, was established in the 1960s, and soon built up a production centre and a staff residential area in the land sites C and D (Figure 6.31), known as "No. 2 Machinery Plant Danwei Community". And in such an independent system of both the functions of producing and living, neighbouring dwellers living in the same residential community were also colleagues in the same enterprise.

Lefebvre considered that any society, any kind of production, would have its own space. Social space also contains production and reproduction relations, and in a suitable place (Lefebvre, 2006). The Danwei system can be considered as the product of national planned economic logic, with resource allocation and production modes forming its own unique spatial system. Hence, at the city level, a number of closed Danwei communities emerged, forming many relatively isolated social islands in urban social geographic space.

In this mode, Danwei is “omnipotent”, offering all the basic needs of life, including public services, social life, job training, and entertainment, for the residents (staffs and workers) who worked and lived within the Danwei community.

"In our Danwei community, there is everything I and my family need, education for our children, seeing films, social interaction, sports, so we really do not need to go to other places, only go to visit my father's family sometimes" (Ms Ning, 63 years old, 2015).

Integration of government administration with enterprise, but no self-governance

For communist China's government, Danwei was a means of national direct management and social organisation. "Party and state policy regulations, executive orders, and planned targets, can all be achieved at various establishments in accordance with the administrative relationship, and through the concrete implementation in society by grassroots government (Danwei) as a whole" (Lu, 1989, p.72).

It (Danwei administration) has a very high efficiency in terms of political and resource management, but this integration of government administration with enterprise production (SOEs) made social management only a secondary activity, especially in the planned-economy era when there was a focus on developing economy and production. In addition, the upper-tier government controlled the social and public resources, to convey the administrative and management instructions through the Danwei, but not the community itself, who truly understood their actual situation and real needs. Hence, there is no effective social services and resource allocation.

In short, Danwei is a living place that workers can rely on for everything connected with their working; it is also their workplace, and it can meet the basic needs of daily life. It is the only channel of access to resources (education, health, pension, employment, recreation). If residents left the Danwei, they would lose the basis of their self-identity as employees, and they would lose the social life.

6.8.2 CC administration, from 1998 to 2004

As profits declined and land prices rose, many state-owned enterprises faced increasing pressures in the early 1990s. No. 2 Ningbo Machinery Plant, as one of the declining SOEs, was forced to move out of downtown in 1997, which directly resulted in the collapse of the Danwei community of Wenchang. Then, a real estate project “WCHY”, one of the first commercial-residential neighbourhoods, was finished on Sites C and D (Figure 6.31) in 1999.

In the process of SOEs reform, over 30 functions of social affairs were stripped out from the Danwei system, going to the sub-district governments and Community Committee who have

been the main body of community administration since 1997 (Zhu, 2004). Some of these were replaced by market-based rather than residential-community-based elements (Danwei). For example, “production and manufacturing” are the key tasks for SOEs, “housing development and distribution” was dominated by construction companies and real estate companies, “property management” was the major business of property management companies, and “finding a job” was the aim of HR companies and HR markets. Other functions, including employment, retraining, vocational training, caring for the elderly and disabled, birth registration, pensions, housing, and marriage and funeral arrangements, also became the content of the administrative management under the local CC. In this process of government reform, the community gained more rights over social affairs and greater power of administration and management. This reflects the change from the all-around-government dominance to coordination and cooperation between the community, governmental organisations, and other social groups.

However, as an increasing number of migrant workers moved into Wenchang in the later 1990s, with plenty of opportunities provided by urbanisation and industrialisation, (the questionnaire survey shows that 94% of migrant workers came to Ningbo after 2000), this increased the complexity of community social structure and residential mobility, and brought many new problems and challenges to the community managers and committee. These changes also include the diverse requirements for increasing the quality of life – a large number of complicated administrative tasks from higher government, and a lack of effective communication channels with groups having different interests, were the challenges and difficulties for community governance.

6.8.3 Self-governance (SWCC): “diversified need-oriented” since 2004

Governments cannot single-handedly provide effective public services to society because public goods are complex, trivial, and depend on the diverse needs of residents in different periods; this top-down style cannot meet the needs of residents (Zhang, 2007). This is an accurate description of CC administration before 2004. In consideration of this, the new model of community administration “separate the election and the hire” was implemented in the urban community in Ningbo in 2004. It meant that the resident representative members of the CC were elected by voting, and the professional social workers of the committee were hired through open recruitment by government funding (Ningbo Municipality, 2005). The implementation profoundly changed the functions, responsibilities and ways of community administration. The specific characteristics will be briefly analysed through the case of today’s Wenchang.

"Our community model can be summarised as "separate the election and the hire", to select resident representative and to hire social workers in our Community Committee; in addition,

Wenchang community committees is a non-governmental and self-governing organisation, only the director was a civil servant, appointed by the upper-tier government” (Director of Wenchang CC, Miss Zhou, 2014).

Four formal organisations of CC: CRC, SWCC, CPC and OC

There have been four main formal organisations in charge of community administration and social affairs in Wenchang since 2004. The community residents committee (CRC) is made up of six local representative residents; the Community Committee of social workers (SWCC) are hired through open public recruitment; the Communist Party Committee (CPC) is composed of local party members; and the owner committee (OC) is made up of representative residents from each neighbourhood. Table 6.4 provides the membership list of CRC, SWCC and CPC.

Table 6.4 Members of Wenchang administration organizations, 2015

CRC	SWCC		CPC	
Name	Name	Position	Name	Position
Yao Yi	Zhou Xiaohong	Director	Zhou Xiaohong	Director
Zhao Lijun	Gu Xiaofen	Sub-director	Gu Xiaofen	Sub-director
Gu Jingfen	Yao Yi	Public service	Wang Xudong	---
Tang Dayi	Wu Jiali	Social guarantee	Wang Aduo	---
Tian Wenjun	Wang Quna	Security	Chen Xiang	---
Zhou Feng	Nan Jiaji	Education	Li yingfen	---
----	Chen Qian	Sanitation & health	Xu Xiaohua	---
----	Zhang Liqin	Family plan	Chen Guifang	---
----	Chen Lize	Employment	Cao Ailin	---

Source: Author’s field study survey, 2015

Table 6.4 shows that some members of CRC are also social workers of SWCC; for example, Yao Yi is a member of the CRC, but also a professional social worker of CRC in charge of birth and marriage registration. Secondly, Zhou Xiaohong, the director (the only civil servant from superior government) of the CC, is also the leader of the other two organisations (SWCC and CPC). Thirdly, only some social workers have fixed positions in the CC office, following fixed working hours (8:30 to 17:00, Monday to Friday), and with a salary of around 4,000 RMB/M. Each of them has a clear position, with defined responsibilities (Interview survey, CC, 2014). Figure 6.40 shows the photos and the names of the members of the CRC, SWCC and CPC in Wenchang.



Figure 6.40 CRCs

Figure 6.40 SWCC

Figure 6.40 CPC

Figure 6.40 Member photos and names in Wenchang

Source: Author's field study survey, 2015

1 Community residents committee (CRCs): of representative residents (Figure 6.40)

Based on the constitution of the Community Committee (Ningbo Municipality, 2007), members must be elected by local residents. But in practice, the six members of Wenchang CRC were produced by residents' recommendations.

"Procedure is too complex for most local residents, then most members of CRC were recommended by some residents in reality" (Interview, Zhao, Director of CRC, 2014).

Many are too busy to vote, and thought "it will not change anything whoever is selected", and then, if no one strongly opposes the recommended names, they are elected (Interview survey, 2015).

In addition, CRC members usually have no fixed desks in the CC's office (many of them did not provide photos, Figure 6.40). They mainly serve as a contact point and help residents in difficulty, ensuring timely responses to their needs from Community Committees and government. For example, Miss Gu lives in YXSJ of Wenchang, and is a member of the "helping the disadvantage (HD)" (Figure 6.41), who tend to understand the difficulties of the disadvantaged people, including widows, orphans, the elderly and other vulnerable groups. They are on patrol visiting households within the community areas for around 1 hour, 2-3 times a week.

2 Communist Party Committee (CPC): learning policies for residents (Figure 6.40)

Members of CPC are usually produced by recommendations from other members. A total of 248 members within Wenchang are grouped into nine branches, and each branch has around 27/28 members. Members maintain contact usually through social media and the phone; their activities typically include team building and maintenance, policy learning and discussion, and organising social activities and neighbourhood support (Interviews, Ms Zhou, Director of Party Committee, 2014).

For example, a new national policy about people's livelihoods, or a municipal government policy on pensions, will receive detailed scrutiny from the members very soon, in order to spread information to other residents. Specifically, Wang and Zhou (the directors of the CPC of Wenchang), will organise a seminar first with nine directors of the branches, and let them arrange open learning and discussions within their small groups (Interview survey, 2015). In addition, they also organise cultural activities. For example, Director Wang mobilised CPC members to establish two social activity groups, a dancing team and a singing team; and CPC also encouraged the neighbourhood to raise funds to purchase the show props and to arrange for a professional vocal coach to help them. As a result, they won the Outstanding Performance Award twice in the Ningbo dancing competition, in November 2014 and October 2015.

"We are the first dancing team ever in the whole of Haishu District, it has taken a year of training to have this medal, we are so proud, and feel we neighbours are a big family here. Recently, a business show invited us to participate in their annual meeting" (Interviews, Mr Wang, 2014).

Lastly, to be convenient for different members, CPC meeting schedules are fixed for the retired members (Monday 13:00-14:00 once every two weeks), and for the young people of the CPC members (Saturday 19:00-20:00 once a month).

3 CC of Social workers (SWCC): coordination of stakeholders (Figure 6.40)

Social workers are the main body of the Community Committee in administration and social affairs. Apart from Director Zhou, the rest of the members, seven social workers, are contract workers (non-officials) recruited from the labour market. Each member has a specific portfolio (Table 6.4): Chen (Employment), Gu (Communist party affairs), Wu (social work), Chen (health care), Wang (comprehensive treatment of social security), Yao (civil affairs and help), Zhang (family planning and birth control), Zhou (cultural and education). From this perspective, Wenchang CC can be seen as a link between the government and residents.

It is difficult to recruit suitable social workers

There are supposed to be 12 positions for social workers in Wenchang SWCC, but only eight of these are filled today, and they are greatly overloaded with managing and maintaining five residential areas (neighbourhoods) of nearly 10,000 residents (including migrants). But the less attractive wages (only about 50,000 RMB annual), make it hard to recruit outstanding social workers, as Director Zhou reflected: *"In the last social activity, a social worker was in charge of photographs, but she accidentally deleted all of the photos in carelessness"*. But because they are only contract workers, they have no subordinate official relationships with Director Zhou, making it very difficult in most instances for Zhou to manage and conduct them to work efficiently (Interview, Director Zhou, 2014).

For social workers: a rather large workload

The workload of social affairs and administration in Wenchang is rather large and comprehensive. But the establishment of many social groups can supplement this gap (Interview survey, 2015). For example (Figure 6.41), a “community patrol team” was set up in 2013, and is mainly responsible for monitoring the health and living conditions of the elderly. I was invited to experience a day visiting three elderly residents (one was Chinese-American, 92 years old, living alone; the other two were retired workers, more than 80 years old, and were also living alone).



Figure 6.41 Director Zhou asked me to be an “observer” of HD, 2015

Source: Author’s field study survey, 2015

“As the working experience accumulation, gradually we (CC) also established the working principles: on a three “one” principle: visit these disadvantage people on a list of names once a day; leave your one phone number for them; and save one of their relatives’ phone numbers” (Interview, Director Zhou, 2015).

The work of CC is very broad and often faces some unexpected situations. For example, heavy snow occurred in the winter of 2008, meaning that many migrant workers were unable to catch the train back home for New Year, so Wenchang CC launched a New Year’s party for them (Interview, CC, 2014).

The key function of the Community Committee: Coordination

Figure 6.42 illustrates the relations between different committees, groups, companies, governments and residents.

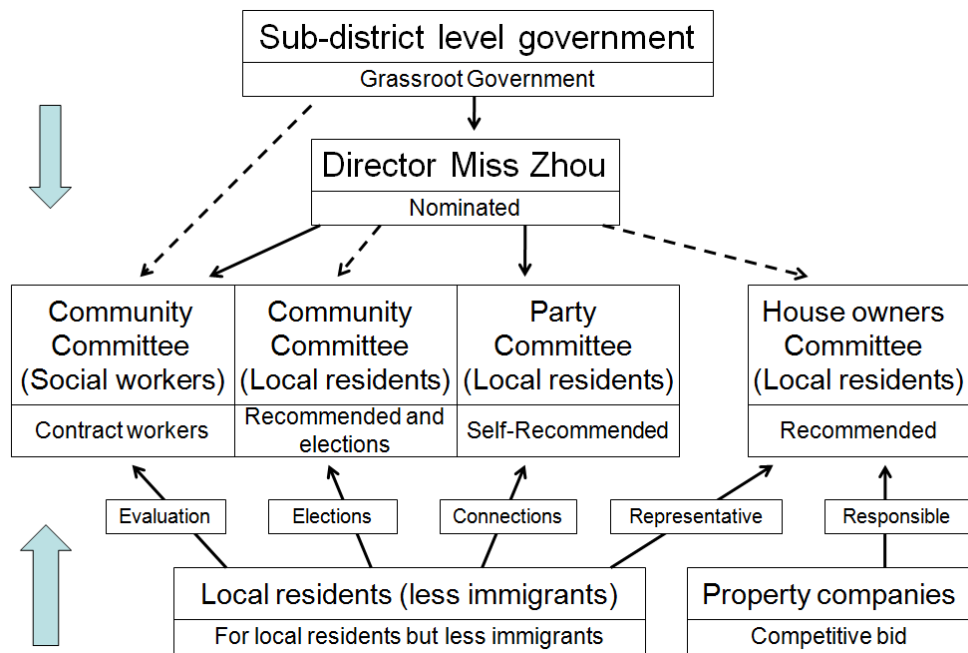


Figure 6.42 Administrative structure of CC in Wenchang, 2015

Source: Based on author's field survey, 2015

Residents, including rural migrants, can achieve participation through the election of residents' representatives in the CC, recommending party members for CPC, and through "customer satisfaction" questionnaires. They can also evaluate the SWCC's work at the annual Social Worker Conference at the end of the year, to determine whether she or he can continue their work contracts (Figure 6.43).



Figure 6.43 Wenchang Social Worker Conference at the end of the year, 2015

Source: Based on author's field study survey, 2015

Moreover, Director Zhou, directly nominated by the sub-district-level government in the key position, shown in Figure 6.42, is directly in charge of the SWCC and CPC, who has strong connections to the CRC and OC. More importantly, because of the power structure design of CC, then only the CC can coordinate the conflicts and interests among different stakeholders on most occasions.



Figure 6.44 Wenchang Love Nursing Home, 2015

Source: Based on Author's field study survey, 2015

For example, Figure 6.44 shows a nursing home, "Ningbo Haishu District Nursing Home", which is on the first floor of the residential buildings in the north of the high-density residential area in Wenchang. But some problems have caused serious discontent and concern among the surrounding residents. Reflecting local funeral customs, the dead body of an elderly person will be placed for 1-2 days in this nursing home before being taken away by the hospital and funeral home, which causes great distress.

These issues come forward initially to the CRC, but it is very difficult to coordinate them, because the nursing home considers that they are acting on behalf of the elderly in this whole community and so residents have no right to stop them. This matter was deadlocked for over a year, before ultimately, through the mediation of the CC, especially Direction Zhou, who talked to the nursing homes, residents of surrounding communities, hospitals, and funeral home, a new agreement was reached (Interviews, Nursing home and Ms Zhou, 2015):

1. The bodies can be placed there but not for more than 24 hours, otherwise the hospital is required to come and act promptly;

2. Local funeral customs should be respected and protected, but must be arranged at a specified time, trying to not to disrupt the schedule of the surrounding residents.

4 Owner Committee (OC): representative of property owners

The OC (Figure 6.42), has no fixed office in CC, and is the only independent organisation fully and directly representing the interests of local property owners. It has the supervision rights of the property management companies who are in charge of local property maintenance, and it also has strong contacts with the CC. Almost every large social activity within the community needs their promotion because of their strong social networks in the local neighbourhoods (Interview, 2015).

Defining OC

Members of the OC are elected by property owners (local residents) within the neighbourhoods of Wenchang, so that they can represent and safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the residents. Actually, the policy of the Department of Housing Construction in Beijing in 1994, called the "new urban housing management approach", had already defined it as a "management committee of residential areas", but because it was very unusual for inhabitants to have housing property at that time (in Danwei era, all housing was collective or national properties), it had a very limited role and functions. However, as the privatisation of housing resources began in the late 1990s, especially the policy of "Ningbo city residential community regulations" which clearly defined the interests of housing owners in Ningbo city in 1997 (Ningbo Municipality, 1997), and as the State Council promulgated the "Property Management Regulations" in 2003, the concepts of "property owner", "OC" and "owners representative conference" were officially defined in terms of administrative regulations. This also provided the details of the organisation's operation, personnel, funding and implementation, and its rules and norms (The State Council, 2003; Ningbo Municipality, 2005).

Directors of OC are important (Table 6.5)

Table 6.5 shows the directors of the OCs within Wenchang. The directors are usually well-educated and retired from middle- or higher-level positions of government or factories, to ensure that they have enough time to fulfil their duties (Interview, OCs, 2014). And each neighbourhood has their own management team, comprising one director, two sub-directors, and 5 to 20 members who are in charge of each residential building. For example, there are 19 people (OC) as the advisors of all 19 residential buildings within No.73 neighbourhood.

Table 6.5 Directors of OC in Wenchang, 2015

Neighbourhoods	XXLS	YXSJ	WCHY	YXSJ	LTN & No.73
Director	Zheng Jianfei	Xu Guoliang	Yang Peizhong	Ye Deyi	Deng Laoshi

Source: Based on Author's field study survey, 2015

The directors have relatively good social influence and reputation among the locals, and can help them to play a key role in conflicts with property management companies. For example, Zheng Jianfei, director of the XXLS neighbourhood, former chancellor of Ningbo Police Academy, is responsible for 13 residential buildings in XXLS. Local residents complained that the property management company had many unclear capital accounts, and had carried out inadequate house maintenance and repair since 2009. The previous OC had no effective ways to resolve the issues, until the new director (Mr Zheng) arrived in 2013. Through the mobilisation of his social relations and active communication, the problem was quickly resolved, the company accepted the penalty due to the non-performance of its contract, and a new property company took over their work of XXLS neighbourhood, winning the local residents' satisfaction (Interview, Director Zheng of XXLS OC, 2015).

Collecting and using the property manage fee

OCs are also required to collect property management fees from each household, used to pay for the cost of property maintenance. For example, in total 1,450,000 RMB of property management fees was collected, including parking charges and commercial rental within XXLS neighbourhood in 2014. Of this, 1,300,000 RMB is paid directly to the property management company, to cover the cost of 5 management staff and 10 security guards, while the rest of the money was saved as a collective fund for all XXLS residents (Interview, Mr Yang, director of OC, 2015). But there were also some contradictions, for example, the property management company complained that because of the lower fee collected, they could not hire good security guards (2600 RMB/M) (Interview, 2015).

6.8.4 Administration changes: the major characteristics

Since "separate the selection and the hire" was used as a method in urban community administration in Ningbo after 2004, the basic and diverse needs of residents, rather than administration orders from superior governments, became the need-oriented factors for community administration and management. The characteristics of community administration can be seen in Figure 6.45.

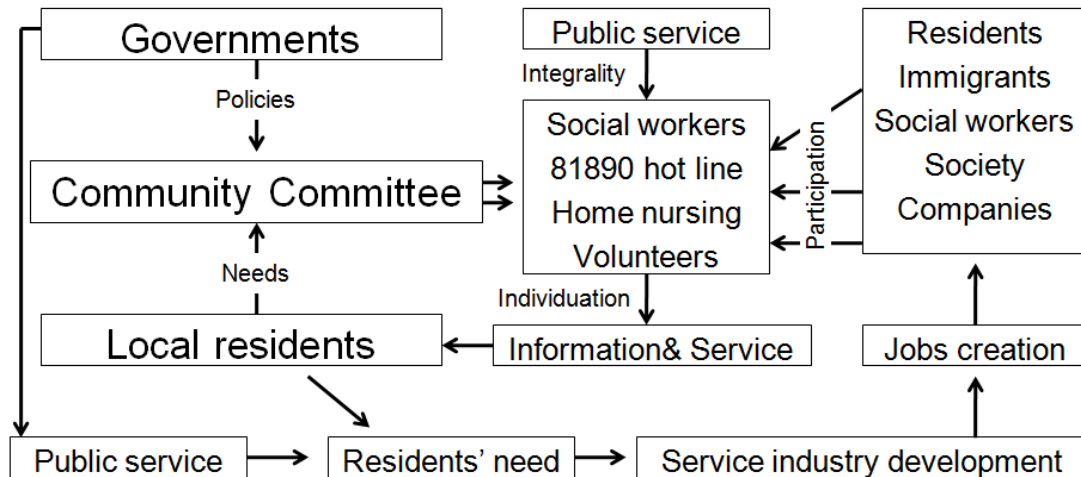


Figure 6.45 Need-oriented administrative style of Wenchang Community, 2015

Source: Based on Author's field survey, 2015

1. Based on the mechanisms of "two-way demand" public service delivery

"Self-governance" and "grassroots political power" are the basic characteristics of community administration and management (Wei, 2003). How to integrate these two requirements for government and residents is the key for the CC. On the one hand, community social workers assist the government to complete administrative management, and public services can be transformed into specific family and individual needs, providing a large number of diverse and personalised services to solve residents' problems. On the other hand, residents, by voting for the representatives, can effectively and actively participate in community management and governance. This complex two-way supply system can effectively guide top-down public services and policies favourable to the targeted residents, who can participate in the system, improve their ability of self-management, and gradually form effectively interactions with the government and residents (Figure 6.45).

2. Actively promoting multi-stakeholder involvement

In particular, the "Satisfaction Survey" for social workers, organised by CC, is held each year (Figure 6.43). Each social worker is required to present an annual summary report of their work, and residents are invited to rate each social worker by means of an anonymous questionnaire, so that any social worker who does not pass the evaluation will not continue their work contract anymore. This procedure provides an effective way of ensuring that residents are actively involved in community management and public service delivery.

In addition, some new forms of public service delivery, for example, the "81890 service"⁴, and "home nursing"⁵, are gradually growing from providing community services to locals to being an innovative public service system for whole society. Specifically, "81890", has become a means of coordination and resource integration, to meet all kinds of service information between the supplier and individuals. It actively encourages their participation, and also provides plenty of job opportunities for domestic helpers (jobless residents, retired people, graduates), maximising the realisation of "public service – diverse demand – industry development – employment creation" multi-level supply, and ultimately enabling the residents, businesses, social organisations and government to participate in community social and economic development and the provision of public services for the targeted groups (Chart 6.45).

3. Diversified need-oriented

The most prominent feature of the current urban community governance model in Ningbo is that it is diversified and demand-oriented, in order to realise the effective use of public resources and participation. As the demand for public services is bound to fragment since residents are increasingly diversified and differentiated, the governments can only provide public services as a whole. This inevitably leads to the contradictions between supply and demand. If the government simply provides services paternalistically, this is bound to put enormous stress on public finances, and cannot be sustainable. Therefore, community governance and management are gradually concentrating on the demand side, gradually developing a useful platform (the current Community Committee model) for the government, businesses, residents and other social groups who are involved, and ultimately leading to the effective use of public resources (Chart 6.45).

⁴ **"81890" service:** 81890 information services, known as "China's new model of public service", is by the principle of the cooperation of "the government supporting by the policies, market running, and social participation", which is initially established by the support of Haishu district of Ningbo in early 2000s. It offers free all-round information services to the public, as one of the first new public service entities established in China.

⁵ **Home nursing:** Home-based care (services) refers to family-centered, community-based services, relying on professional services for the elderly living at home provided to solve the difficulties of daily life as the main content of the social services. Its biggest feature is to solve the difficulties of insufficient social pension agency, the social disadvantaged groups of job needs of the older laid-off women workers and a lack of life care, home care lonely old residents are combined, and mobilize society and enterprises funded the establishment of family nursing homes, become the multi-benefit model for the elderly, laid-off people, the company and the governments.

6.9 Conclusion

Following the appraisal framework, this chapter has analysed the specific and complex characteristics of community changes in Wenchang of Ningbo over the past three decades, and its changes can be mainly considered as a typical Danwei community changing to commercial-residential neighbourhoods.

As the basic social-spatial unit of the planned-economy era, Danwei was a function of the state system policy implementation and the socialist ideology materialisation, meaning that in its closed space, it gradually formed an independent complete small society with the functions of production and all aspects of daily life, with a link among government, enterprise, society and individuals. So Danwei was a residential community with the integrated functions of economic production and social life. However, Danwei collapsed with the development of the market economy, especially in the late 1990s. The commercialisation of the housing market has dramatically changed the urban landscape – social structure has become more complex, and daily life is more diversified. Three aspects (employment, housing and community administration) have been selected as to generally describe the characteristics of changing.

Employment: Job source channels changed from “national arrangement” by Danwei (individual jobs were determined by top-down administration order), to market-based by the labour market. Then the tenure contract started to break up, and employment became more flexible.

Housing: the provision of housing as a form of welfare resource allocation in the planned-economy era was allocated to Danwei in accordance with the length of working, position level, and the scale of the state-owned enterprises and administrative levels. However, housing qualities and resources were very limited, and most residential constructions were tube-shaped buildings, with narrow spaces, no running water, and no independent kitchen, toilet, or bathroom. Nevertheless, the housing system reform in the late 1990s allowed the market to become the main body of developing residential constructions. Residential quality significantly improved in terms of room, space, facilities and the surrounding environment. Thus housing selection became a consumer behaviour rather than part of welfare resources.

Community administration: The new model in which residents can participate in a wide range of management and democratic institutions in order to achieve their own interests, can be summarised in the Community Committee, which replaced Danwei in the late 1990s. This model has been further improved by the implementation of “separate the election and the hire” in 2004, in order to bring in professional social workers to supplement community administration and governance. However, the current community administration still cannot

keep up with the changing demands of the young population by allowing them to actively participate in community activities and development. However, most of the demands and views about local development, governance and social service delivery from diverse residents and social groups can be effectively expressed in the current community. Hence a bottom-up society emerged.

However, the declining traditional old downtown neighbourhood has become the home of a constant influx of migrant workers. This trend was strengthened when the retired aging residents had a steady property-related income from the young migrant workers. However, migrant workers lived for many years in these neighbourhoods and could never truly integrate into the social and cultural life of the local community. The new generation of migrant workers growing up in the city have started to identify themselves as locals. In addition, they rarely have the opportunity to participate in local social activities and community governance. They do make contributions to the maintenance of the downtown community and the development of the urban economy, but cannot access local welfare, public facilities and political participation. They are the real marginalised populations.

**Chapter Seven: From traditional to Self-initiated urbanisation in suburb:
Shangshao village**

In transitional China, rural communities (villages) of coastal cities' suburb areas are experiencing complex and comprehensive changes that often can be seen as a complex process of urbanisation (Ning, 1998). In the context of rapid economic development but more people less land, village community transformation is mainly through “intensive land use” and “initiative industrialisation” (Wang, 1999; Seedlings, 1998; Cheng, 1998).

Shangshao village, as an agriculture-based conventional society existing for hundreds of years, is in the northern suburb of Ningbo, and its rapid and comprehensive changes in residents population structure, residential qualities, and economic and village administrative changes, are the results of a complex driving powers behind the process. Specifically, Shangshao experienced rural industrialisation in the 1990s and resettlement housings building since 2006. In this chapter, draw on the data from questionnaires of 43 local villagers and migrants, and interview with 32 local residents, migrant residents, members from VC and governments, the studies on Shangshao reveal the specific characteristics of an “initiative urbanisation” of a village, contributing to understanding the mechanisms of these complex phenomena.

7.1 Shangshao village

Shangshao village, an area of 1.33 square kilometres, (Figure 7.1), contains a total of 306 households, 530 local people and around 400 migrants (Questionnaires and interview survey, 2015).



Figure 7.1 Location of Shangshao in Ningbo

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

Shangshao village has experienced large changes in the residents' population structure, jobs and income levels, housing and participation in village development since the 1980's “reform and open up”. Specifically, an industrial zone was

developed in Shangshao in the late 1990s. Figure 7.3.D shows the standard industrial plants⁶ of the industrial park in Shangshao in 2014.



Figure 7.2 Shangshao village in the suburb of Ningbo, 2015

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

Figure 7.2 shows the land use structure of today's village.

Site A is the remaining agricultural land – in 2015 it was only around one-fifth of the total agricultural land in the 1980s, and nowadays it is only used by some of the locals as private vegetable gardens. (Figure 7.3B) shows a local old man planting vegetables in the afternoon; he considered this as to be a way of relaxing and exercising his body (Interview survey, 2015).

Sites B and C (Figure 7.2) contain the residential areas. The resettlement project of new village implementation in Shangshao in 2006 totally transformed villagers' dilapidated housings (Figure 7.3.A) into the new two-storey houses in straight rows (Figure 7.3.C), as well as constructing new public facilities and infrastructure.

Site D (Figure 7.2) is the industrial zone and is a location for labour-intensive factories, such as the plant facilities shown in (Figure 7.3.D).

⁶ **Standard industrial plants:** Against the background of rural industrialization of Ningbo in the 1990s, the implementation of standardized plants provided a full range of facilities, infrastructure and even equipments, as well as the unified management in industrial zones, which ensured the very necessary preconditions and environment for local industrialization (Zhang & Zhu, 2010; Deng, 2012).



Source: Author's field survey, 2015

7.2 Residents' population restructure: locals, migrants

The local population size in Shangshao has changed little, and has steadily aged, but the number of migrants grew dramatically in the 2010s, accounting for 41% of the total residential population in 2015. They are also much younger than the other residents.

7.2.1 Population size of locals: no big change

Generally, the total number of locals has remained at approximately 530 people and 310 households over the past three decades, but the population structure changed after three waves of migration. The first took place at the beginning of the 1980s, amounting to about 90 neighbourhood villagers moving in and settling down, because the local Village Committee rented out unused lands to these farmers. The second and third tides of migration happened because of railway development (state-owned) which required the villagers' lands, directly resulting in around 80 and 40 villagers losing their farm lands in 1983 and 1997 respectively. However, new jobs were found by the local authority for these people in different state-run enterprises.

In addition, natural fertility and mortality rates have had little influence on the population size and structure in Shangshao, since they are in balance, with a birth rate of 7.19%, a mortality rate of 5.49% and a natural growth rate of 1.7% (Jiangbei Year book, 2014). Finally, only a few young people from the village are successful in going to university and migrating to other places (Interview with Shangshao village Committee, 2015).

7.2.2 Population size of rural migrants: dramatically increasing

It is difficult to assess the specific number of rural migrants, because the minimum size of unit in the census is at sub-district-level (Interview, Zhuangqiao Public Security Bureau, 2015). This social group can therefore only be enumerated after applying for a Temporary Residential Permit, but many of them have not applied for this permit (Interview survey 2015).

Based on the interviews and questionnaires, it was found that most rural people began migrating to Ningbo after the late 1990s, and these migration flows are closely related to the urbanisation level of the economic environment and policies. In the mid-2000s the number of migrants arriving stood at roughly 120, as a result of the reform of collective enterprises⁷ and the establishment of standard industrial plants attracting more enterprises, providing plenty of job opportunities in the middle 1990s. Over half of the migrants arrived after 2010 due to the creation of resettlement housing (Resettlement project of new village⁸) which in Shangshao was able to provide enough rooms for them. As a result, the migrant population accounts for 41.4% of the entire village population, around 400 people in 2015.

7.2.3 Age structure: villagers aging, migrants young

Figure 7.4 also shows the age structure of the residents' population, indicating that migrants are much younger than local villagers. Local villagers have been aging, and the majority are either middle-aged or old; 70.8% are over 45 years old, and 17% of the total local population is over 65 years old. The locals' natural population growth rate continuously decreased from 15.9% in 1985 to 1.7% in 2014 (Jiangbei district year book, 2014).

⁷ **The reform of collective enterprises:** Collective enterprises were mainly composed of the people's communes or production teams, then have been gradually changed into township enterprises, and also extended to more types of ownership, including: private, stated-owned, foreign investment and joint ventures in the 1990s (Yan, Lin and Xu, 1994).

⁸ **Resettlement project of New Village:** "Socialism new countryside" or "New Village in Socialism" was a new concept and direction of development issued by the central government in 2005, which aimed to enhance the rural economy, infrastructure, facilities, environment and culture, by developing local economy and community (Hu, Gu, and Wang, 2009).

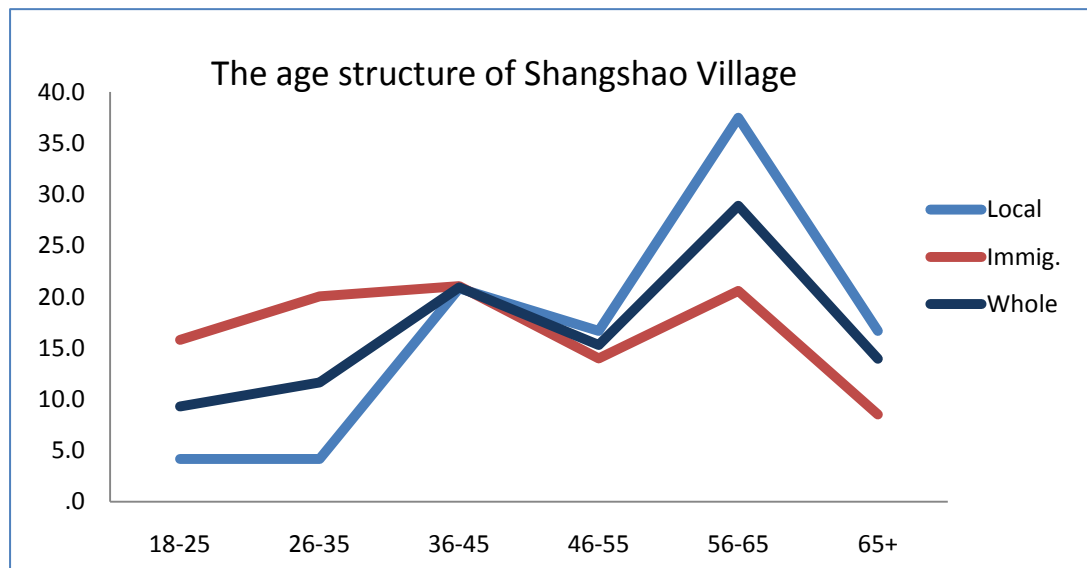


Figure 7.4 local villagers' age structure of Shangshao, 2015

Source: Author's questionnaire survey, 2015

The migrant population is much younger, with those less than 45 years old accounting for 43% of the population (Questionnaire survey, 2015). In the field survey, it was found that groups of children are running, chasing, playing and shouting; this scenario can be often seen in spaces adjacent to several apartment buildings in the north of village, but other places of this village give the impression of being cold and cheerless. In reality, many local young villagers have already left the village as they can have better personal development opportunities for careers and living in cities (Interview survey, 2015), although the registered local population (the Hukou population) size showed no decrease in the census, which means that the number of local residents really living in the village is less than the government statistics. In addition, the the liberty of moving and working of migrant workers are very limited by the Hukou system, specific their accessible right to welfare, so generally they do not lightly choose to migrate, unless there are plenty of job opportunities provided by industrialisation, urbanisation and economic restructuring.

Therefore, as locals aged and left, the flow of rural migrants into villages filled the gap in labour required by rural industrial development, which became an important driving power for rural community changes and urbanisation.

7.3 Employment change: locals, migrants

Gradually after the 1990s, the local villagers abandoned agriculture and the collectively owned enterprises, in order to take up jobs in the service sectors and private enterprises. The

means of finding a job also dramatically changed from the national distribution system⁹ to one that is market-oriented. However, as the aging local villagers gradually opted out of the enterprises, so the gap was filled by the increasing number of younger migrant workers, and the employers also warmly welcomed this boost in the size of the labour force as they made less demands upon welfare, insurance and other staff costs. However, as construction workers or labour-intensive workers, migrants still achieved higher incomes as they tended to work harder in these tough circumstances – some even started running a small business while adapting to the local environment and culture.

7.3.1 Employment of locals: in service sectors, income increasing

The majority of villagers worked in agriculture in the 1980s, and a small minority worked in the local collective enterprise: the Jiangbei Textile Mill. However, the reform of the local collective enterprise in the 1990s resulted in around 30 workers being laid off, and as more and more local agricultural land was transformed into industrial land and railways by public-owned companies, this released plenty of labour. These individuals found jobs by themselves and in service sectors, including stores, public transportation, fresh food markets, restaurants, street food, etc. Also, some unemployed villagers preferred to stay at home since the annual bonus (around 6000RMB) given by the Village Committee could just about cover their daily expenses.

In the 2000s, sources of income became diversified. In addition to those over 60 years old being able to enjoy rural pensions, the retired villagers from collective or national-run enterprises were also able to access better retirement benefits. Another trend was that some villagers were able to earn extra income by renting out their properties to the migrant workers, as this social group size grew significantly in the 2010s.

Table 7.1 The main characteristics of employment and the income of locals, Shangshao

<i>Time</i>	1980s	1990s	2000s and 2010s
<i>Employment structure</i>	Agriculture, the collective enterprises, state-run enterprises	Agriculture decreasing, industry increasing, service sectors growing to 8%	40% local labourers in service sectors, 33% are retired, only 8% in agriculture and 4% in industry
<i>Job resources</i>	Dominated by national distribution	Job fairs, job market and self- hunting	Online, job fairs, job market and self-hunting
<i>Monthly income</i>	Under 100 RMB	200 RMB -500 RMB	1,000 RMB to 4,000 RMB
<i>Income structure</i>	Agricultural, wages	Wages, annual bonus	Wages, annual bonus

Source: Author's questionnaire survey, 2015

⁹ **National distribution system:** According to needs of national development and construction, national sectors and departments arrange jobs for the graduates in governments, state-owned enterprises, public sectors and institutions, the graduates have no right of self-selected work right, only be subject to the arrangements by governments (Chinese graduate employment report, 2009).

Table 7.1 summarises the changes in the locals' employment structure, the ways of finding jobs and the income received in Shangshao village since the 1980s.

Employment: changing to service sectors

Local villagers' employment has shifted from agricultural and public-owned enterprises to the tertiary industry over the past three decades. This trend appeared in the 1980s and increased in the early 2000s. The questionnaire data showed that in the 1980s, 41.7% of local labourers worked in agriculture, 20.1% in state-owned enterprises and 25.5% in collective enterprises, but in the 2010s all these sectors combined (agricultural and public-owned enterprises) shrank to 17%, while employment in the service sectors grew from less than 4% in the 1980s to as much as 39% in the 2010s.

Sources of jobs: from a national distribution system to market-oriented

The ways of finding a job have also changed since the abandonment of the state distribution system in the late 1990s. A shift to "job self-hunting" was observed. The data showed that, except for jobs in agriculture, 58.3% of total jobs were arranged by local governments in Shangshao in the 1980s, while "job hunting by self" had grown to 66.7% by the 2010s.

Income: increasing, diversified

Overall income levels have significantly increased over the past three decades, as Figure 7.5 shows. In the 1980s, 67% of locals' incomes were less than 100 RMB/M, growing to 62% earning 200-500 RMB/M in the 1990s, and 83% earning 1000-4000 RMB/M in the 2000s (based on questionnaires survey, 2015).

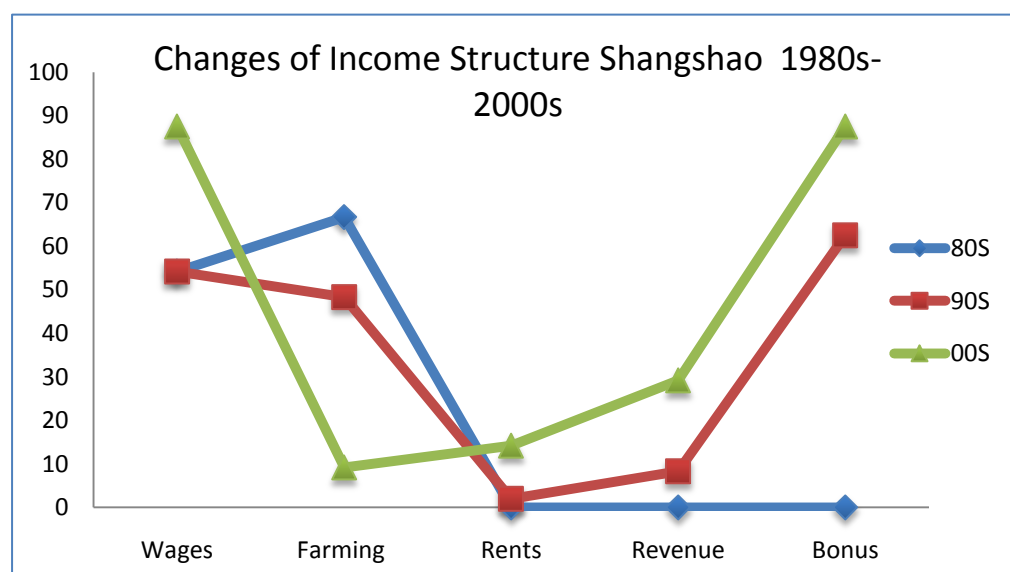


Figure 7.5 Locals' income structure, from the 1980s to after the 2000s

Source: Author's questionnaires survey, 2015

Figure 7.5 shows that sources of income have also diversified. Over 75% of incomes were from agriculture and public-owned enterprises in the 1980s, falling respectively to 38% and 8.3% in the 1990s, even to 9% and 1% in the 2000s. However, an “annual bonus”¹⁰ became a significant part of income, accounting for 18% of total income in the 1990s and increasing to 29.2% in the 2000s. Operating income, including rent and small businesses, also grew rapidly, from 8.3% in the 1990s to 14.2% in the 2000s.

Overall, against the background of rural industrialisation and market-oriented development, villagers have a higher income level and multiple sources of income, including rental housing, running stores, and small sales of agricultural foods, and the village collective income (collective property-related business) has become an important resource. As the reform of the national distribution system brought huge vitality to the job market, there has been greater individual choice and efficient job searching, but greater competition (Chinese graduate employment report, 2009). It also needs to be said that the land acquisitions brought about by the development of the state-owned railway in 1984 and 1997, resulted in a small number of landless villagers, who had new jobs and new working positions arranged for them in the state-run enterprises, because the rail company and the new companies all belong to one system, the state-run system.

7.3.2 Employment of migrant workers: higher income, working harder

Because 98.8% of total migrants have changed jobs less than three times, a full picture of their employment change may be obtained by analysing the details in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Employment of migrant workers in Shanghai, 2015

<i>Features</i>	1st Job	2nd Job	3rd Job
<i>Employees of industry structure</i>	Around 50% of total migrants employed in the construction and manufacturing industry	33% in construction and manufacturing industry, 66% running small businesses	33% in construction and manufacturing industry, 66% running small businesses
<i>Working hours/week</i>	21% work 50-60 hours, 52% work over 60 hours	18% work 50-60 hours, 53.2% work over 60 hours	12% work 50-60 hours, 61% work over 60 hours
<i>Monthly income</i>	2,300 RMB	3,100 RMB	4,420 RMB
<i>Income structure</i>	Wages income	Wages and operating income	Operating income
<i>Source of Jobs</i>	Relatives, friends & townsman	Self-hunting jobs	Self-hunting jobs

Source: Author’s questionnaire survey, 2015

Changing for higher income but harder work

It seems that migrant workers like running their own small businesses, as Table 7.2 shows that “doing your own business” increased dramatically from 0% in their first job, to 66.2% in

¹⁰ **Annual bonus:** According to the rural collective economic property rights, (referring to the fact that the rural collective economic organizations possess all rights, obligations and responsibilities for their assets and disposable income), all the villagers have the rights of sharing the interests from running collective property, and usually these interests would be equally divided and distributed to the residents by the local village committee at the end of the year (Constitution article 6; “Property law” article 58).

their third job. Obviously running a business is able to provide more income than working as a labourer in the construction or manufacturing industries, but their working hours actually extended after each job change. Around 21% of migrants were working 50-60 hours/week, and 52% were working over 60 hours/week in their first job, rising to 12% working 50-60 hours and 61% working over 60 hours in their third job. They prefer more time-consuming jobs, as long as they can have more income.

“Find any job opportunities for earning more money, otherwise we are stuck with working as heavy labour forever” (Interview, Mr D., 2015). Therefore the motivation for changing jobs was not working less hours, but earning a higher income, even if that is with more time-consuming and heavy labour.

Income increasing but less job security

As a result, migrant workers' income has grown significantly from 2302RMB/M in the first job to 4,420 RMB/M in the third job, close to the monthly income of local citizens: 4,170 RMB/M (Jiangbei Year book, 2014). However, these kinds of jobs lack job security and legal working contracts. As the questionnaire survey demonstrates, only 26.3% of all workers had full job security with “five one insurance fund”¹¹ in their first job, although this rises slightly to 29.3% in their third jobs. Moreover, unlike the locals who have diversified income resources, most migrant workers are solely dependent on their wages; 57% of their income is purely wage, and 34% of their income is derived from “doing small business”.

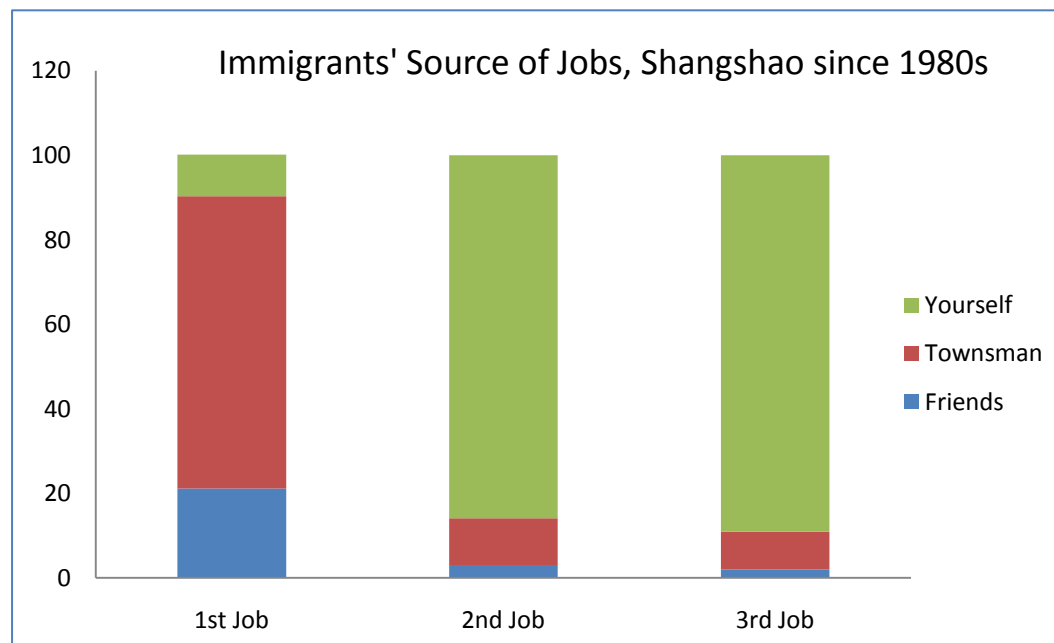


Figure 7.6 Sources of migrants' jobs searching in Shangshao

Source: Author's questionnaire survey, 2015

¹¹ **Five one insurance fund:** The "Five social insurance and one housing fund", refers to endowment insurance, medical insurance, unemployment insurance, industrial injury insurance, maternity insurance and housing accumulation funds ("Social insurance law" Article 2, 2014; "Regulations on Management" Article 15, 2015)

Sources of jobs: from “friends” to “self-hunting”

Figure 7.6 and Table 7.2 describe migrants' sources of jobs ranging from “friend” to “self-hunting” over three rounds of changes. 69.2% of migrant workers' first jobs relied on the recommendations of relatives and friends, and opportunities were limited to the construction industries or manufacturing factories as cheap labour, since they lacked technical skills and education. But they were able to act more independently when hunting jobs once they became familiar with urban living and the working environment, as “job hunting by self” increased to 89.1% in the third round of job seeking.

7.3.3 Two kinds of rural workers: local villager workers and rural migrant workers

In Shangshao, rural workers can be divided into two types. Firstly, local village workers are real local villagers with the local Hukou, and are employed in local township enterprises and service sectors. Secondly, rural migrant workers have no local Hukou and are mostly employed in low-level labour-intensive enterprises in suburban rural areas, or engaged in small economic activities, such as street food. Therefore the term “rural migrant worker” mainly refers to rural households that have left their land and are engaged in non-agricultural economic activities as employed workers, so they are workers from their professional identity, but their Hukou (household registration) identity still defines them as rural farmers.

Local villagers: from agricultural to non-agricultural employment

Local rural workers (local villagers) have only emerged since the implementation of the contract responsibility system in rural areas liberated in the 1980s. In the meantime, the development of industrial (township enterprises) and service sectors has created many off-farm employment opportunities, but the strict Hukou system does not enable such workers to enjoy the social welfare system in the city area; this is limited to the villagers in the city. This eventually leads to differences in farmers' identity (agriculture) and their occupational characteristics (non-farm). The most obvious example of the enterprises in which they are occupied is in the rural industrial zone in Shangshao.

Therefore, this phenomenon of local rural workers in rural industrialisation can be understood as an internal transfer of the rural labour force, but this shift is between different industries, from agriculture to rural industry (mainly township enterprises). However, with the aging of the local population, the relocation of the local working-age population, and in the highly competitive market conditions, fewer local rural workers (local villagers) are working in the local township enterprises, which also provide job opportunities for younger migrant workers.

Rural migrant workers: from remote rural to urbanised jobs

Rural migrant workers surged in large quantities into the city in the late 1990s, and soon occupied the main body of rural enterprises in the 2000s, supplementing the labour vacancy released by retired local villager workers. Compared to the locals, they have few technical skills, are not familiar with the local living environment or urban culture, and have very few job opportunities. However, given the traditional farmers' nature, they also have the patience to endure hardship in high intensity physical labour or hazardous work when employed, for example, as construction workers, plumbers, welders and in waste recycling. Moreover, usually they have little anticipation of higher wages or welfare requirements, making them very attractive for companies, since they are able to save the high cost of employee's welfare, including children's education, self-education expenses, training fees, endowment insurance, and unemployment insurance.

Thus, the arrival of migrant workers truly improved the competitiveness and productivity of rural local industry enterprises. Eventually, this large section of the population, accounting for about 50% of the Shangshao village population, accepted the urban style of living by working in professional industrial production, or in running small businesses, but they can never achieve truly urban life, being real citizens who can enjoy the local welfare system and public services freely, because of the strict Hukou system.

7.4 Residential changes: villagers, migrants

7.4.1 Residential: the challenge, a pilot project, and resettlement

Residential challenging: land use shortage and higher requirements of residential

The local traditional housing of Shangshao is arranged in a main spacious courtyard, using building materials such as bricks and wood in a simple style and structure; this spacious courtyard creates a quiet and pleasant environment, being part of family activities and household duties, drying clothes, poultry farming, sideline production, children at play, and a place for resting and enjoying the neighbourhood gatherings (Based on interview survey, 2015) (Figure 7.3.A).

However, land use became a problem in Shangshao in the early 2000s, as due to the acceleration of urbanisation and the industrialisation process, land planning control was strengthened and land resources became increasingly scarce (Jiangbei District Local Records 2015). A large area of land was expropriated from the expansion of the railway line in the early 1980s and the development of the local industrial zone in the late 1990s, resulting in arable land declining by 81.5% over recent decades. On the other hand, applications for

building permits have increased significantly – the number of cases approved by Jiangbei District Land Department rose from 578 cases in 2002 to 1937 cases in 2006 (Jiangbei District Yearbook, 2006). The majority of these cases are buildings in industrial zones for attracting investment. As the conventional residential houses become dilapidated without regular maintenance, their low-quality bricks and sanitary conditions cannot satisfy villagers, who now have higher demands for their living environment and housing conditions (Interviews with local residents, 2015). The demand for new housing for locals had become an important issue by the mid-2000s.

Shangshao resettled neighbourhoods: a pilot project

Facing the problems of land using shortage, *“We finally produced a proposal for residential resettlement with the concept of “Resettlement project of new village” (see footnote 3) in 2004”* (Interview, Jiangbei District Government Policy Research Office, 2015).

“This is a new work, and we did not have any experience to refer to” (Interview, Zheng, deputy director of Jiangbei district government, 2015).

The “new village housing” was a pilot project launched in the Xiejia village of Ningbo in early 2004, and with the promotion of the local VC and strong support from the majority of the villagers, finally 206 households moved into new housing with a building area of 4,876 square metres in 2005 (Interviews, Xiejia VC, 2015).

This successful experience of implementation rapidly spread to other villages. District-level government organised eight sub-district-level governments and land & planning sectors, putting forward procedures for coordination and unified standards for “New Village Housing” in 2005. There were four key points:

- *Unified planning:* According to the rules issued by the Jiangbei government in 2005, “Jiangbei District, urban and rural construction planning”, the planning plot ratio was restricted to between 1.1 and 1.6 based on balancing the actual number of households and the number of housing building applications within the planned plots, and it was made compulsory to provide certain public green areas and to equip a property management team.
- *Unified evaluation:* By the principle of “open operation, examination and approval”, the information of house building process is required to be public, from the first stage of “setting up the project” to the last stage of “finish”. For example, in the stage of “villagers’ application for house building”, administrative staffs from the Land & Resource Office are required to conduct the administration process at the construction site, in order to provide face-to-face communication with the local villager applicants.

- Unified approval: According to the number of applicants and their different situations, approval is granted for the quantity of agricultural land that can have its usage changed (For example, from agricultural land to building land). Based on the evaluation of the villagers' applications by the Land & Resource Office, only after the application has been made public for five working days without any objection from the villagers, can it then be forwarded to the supervisor-level government (district-level government) for approval.
- Unified construction standardisation: It is compulsory to choose qualified construction developers through unified bidding, and to determine the dwelling size and structure according to the evaluation results of the Land & Resource Office, in order to ensure the project's quality (Jiangbei district government, 2015).

Actually, one of major advantages that made this "New Village Housing" project implementation run smoothly is the consistency in the standard of planning, evaluation, approval and construction. All of the different parts of this project must follow the existing rules and laws of planning in order to be efficient and effective. For example, in the details of planning, the plot ratio is set as between 1.1 and 1.6 by the rule of the "Urban and Rural Construction Jiangbei District", which guarantees the effective implementation of this project.

Resettlement in Village: significantly improved housing qualities

This resettlement project was also finished in Shangshao in 2006.

"We are so excited about other villages' success, and quickly approved this regeneration plan in the village's residents representative meeting, and then members of the Village Committee went to Zhuangqiao sub-district-level government to apply for the subsidy under this New Village" (Accountant, Shao, female, 43 years old, the VC, 2015).

With the consensus from the local villagers, the project was started in March 2006, covering a residential area of 67,000 square metres, with funding mainly from the "new village" of Zhuangqiao sub-district government and partly from the VC. The local VC is in charge of the selection and supervision of the real estate developer. One hundred and fifty units had been finished by December 2007, (two styles of two-storey houses: 168 square metres of four-bedroom properties and 118 square metres of three-bedroom properties). Finally all of the villagers moved into the new housing after the project was completed in December 2010.

"The bad memory of living in the old buildings, which had very poor insulation, and a dirty environment with no sanitary facilities, had gone forever. The new places where we are living today have all the facilities, including natural gas, internet, sewage treatment facilities, and our local Village Committee has also organised a team in charge of property management. So

we believe all these made our local quality of life better" (Interview, Shangshao VC, 2015).

The practice of this type of project solved issues of land tension in villages, and significantly improved the quality of life. A total of 1,730 new households have moved into new housing, which saved over 60 hectares of land in Zhuangqiao sub-district area in 2014 (Jiangbei Year book, 2015). Moreover, actually this method of land consolidation in this type of project also provides sufficient space for developing standardised industrial plants. For example, Shangshao has built more than six factories since 2010.

Generally, locals' quality of life has significantly improved since the resettlement project finished in 2006. Shangshao has also solved a series of problems since the 1990s, including land use conflicts, deteriorating environmental conditions and sub-standard sanitation facilities.

The details of migrants' and locals' residential conditions will be considered in the following paragraphs by analysing interview data, questionnaires and yearbooks.

7.4.2 Resettlement of locals: significantly improved, for "pension and investment"

In Shangshao, as the questionnaire data showed, 95.3% of villagers still live in the village, although in the 1980s a small group of landless villagers had left the village since they had work arranged in other places by state-owned enterprises. They prefer to come back today because of their attachment to the old neighbourhoods and the local community. However, most young and middle-aged villagers have moved out and are renting out their properties to migrant workers.

Table 7.3 Residential accommodation changes of locals in Shangshao, 2015

	1980s- 1990s	Since the late 1990s	Since 2006
<i>Basic situation</i>	Conventional housing	Shortage of land; old housings dilapidated	Resettlement housing: "new village"
<i>Main body</i>	Local villagers	Local villagers	Locals and migrants
<i>Living area</i>	Around 70% are over 100 m ²	Around 70% are over 100 m ²	100% are over 100 m ²
<i>Housings' resources</i>	From senior generation	From senior generation	Resettlement housings
<i>Facilities</i>	Independent kitchen, but no bathroom or drainage system	Independent kitchen, but no bathroom or drainage system	Independent kitchen, bathroom, toilet, drainage
<i>Household size</i>	81% are over 4 people	41% are over 4 people and 54.2% are 2-3 people	54.6% are less than 2 people, 8% are single
<i>Living with whom</i>	Parents, spouse & children	Children and spouse	Children or spouse

Source: Author's questionnaire survey, 2015

Table 7.3 describes the changes in local villagers' residential accommodation in Shangshao village since the 1980s, including the main body of residents, housing allocation, facilities and household size. Overall, living conditions have significantly improved since the resettlement project finished in the middle 2010s. As Figure 7.7 shows, the living area slightly increased over time, with properties less than 30 m² decreasing by 3.7% and 60-100 m² increasing by 4.1% from the 1980s to the 2000s.

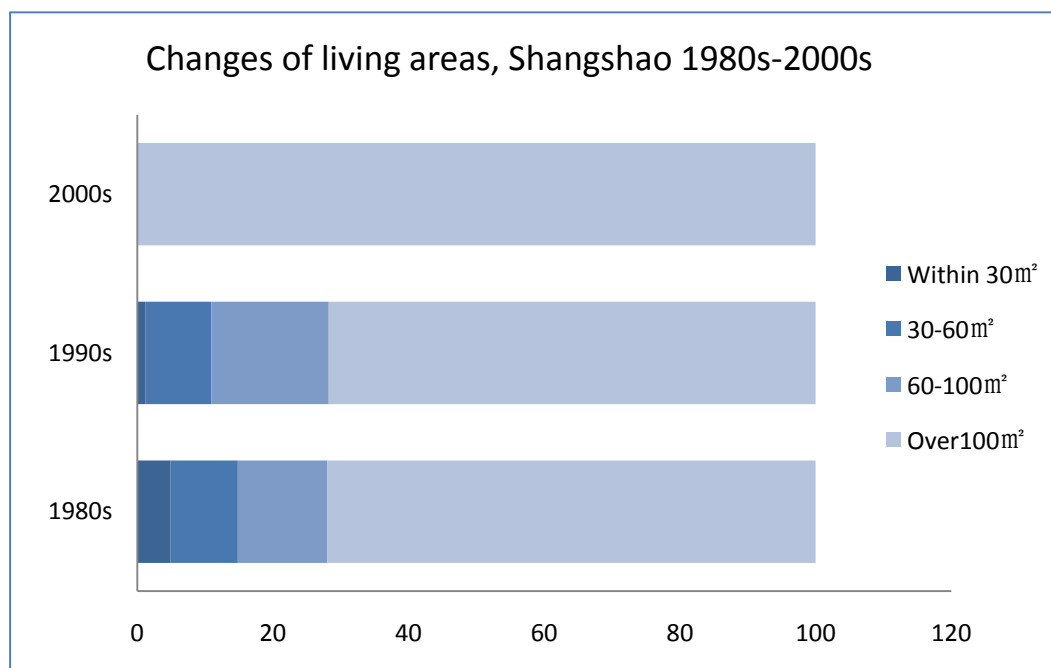


Figure 7.7 Change in locals' living area in Shangshao since the 1980s

Source: Author's questionnaire survey, 2015

Resettlement: quality improvement

However, before the resettlement, most villagers lived in local conventional housing which was big enough and consisted of several rooms, including a dining room, bedroom, living room, kitchen, etc, shared by a big family, but there was no independent bathroom and toilet. It was also quite dark at night because of the old rundown street lights in the old neighbourhoods. In addition, a group of local land-lost villagers moved out and lived in apartments of SOEs, where the living area was smaller but included an independent bath and toilet.

After the completion of the resettlement project in 2006, the quality of accommodation significantly improved. There is now a choice of two types of housing, 168 m² or 118 m², which can be selected by local residents through the exchange of their own old housing area, under the principles of "Return the overcharge and demand payment of the shortage", which means if your old housing area is bigger than the new housing area you can be returned an amount of money, otherwise the opposite occurs (Interview, Shangshao VC, 2015).

Table 7.4 Changes in Shangshao housing facilities

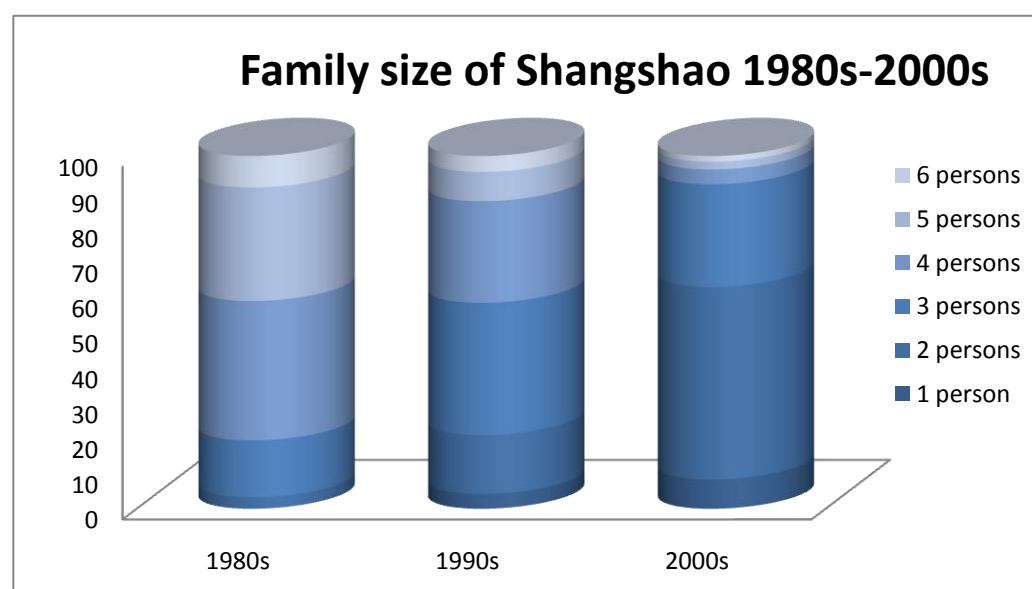
	Kitchen	Bathroom	Toilet	Drainage system
1980s	Independent	No	Not private, shared	No
1990s	Independent	No	Not private, shared	No
2000s	Independent	Independent	Independent	Yes

Source: Author's questionnaire survey, 2015

Table 7.4 shows the improvements in sanitary conditions. All this new housing has been equipped with solar water heating, a hot bath (24 hours) in a separate bathroom, and the independent toilet is installed with a complete water system.

Shrinking: family size

Local household size has shrunk over recent decades in Shangshao.

**Figure 7.8 The changes of locals' family size since the 1980s**

Source: Author's questionnaire survey, 2015

Families of four persons have decreased from 71% to 8%, but families of two increased to 54.6% from the 1980s to the 2000s. This trend also has been confirmed by the question of “who lives together” from the 1980s to the 2000s – the percentage of residents “living with parents” fell from 26% in the 1980s to 4.2% by the 2000s, but over the same period those “only living with spouse” increased from 8.3% to 51% (Figure 7.8).

Resettlement housing: for pension, investment

In reality, locals usually used their priorities to achieve their pension which cannot be achieved through the public welfare system. The first case is house-for-pension. Mr Shao, who is 55 years old and single, owned an old house of more than 150 square metres inherited

from his senior parents, and paid 4,800 RMB (18 m² by 600 RMB/m²) to exchange it for a new house of 168 m². Soon, he sold the 168-square-metre house to a rural-migrant family for 450,000 RMB, and bought a 112-square-metre house that cost only around 140,000 RMB, spending nearly 10,000 RMB on decoration, leaving 300,000 RMB for his pension. (Interview, Mr Shao, 2015).

In the second case, local villagers used their qualification for buying new resettled housing to have extraordinary profitable investment. Mr Yang is 62 years old, retired and living with his wife. He and his two brothers were eligible to apply for a new big resettlement house since their parents' old house was relatively large. Then, three of them decided to buy a house for their only sister at a very low price under their younger brother's wife's Hukou (Household Registration), spending only 120,000 RMB on a 118 m² house, one-third of the market price (Interview, 2015).

Conclusion: the resettlement neighbourhood

The resettlement project of the new village has played a significant role in improving the residential quality of suburb villages. This can be seen mainly as a top-down, policy-oriented approach to development, but is also based on the strong demand for the improvement of locals' rural living. It can also be considered as a "progressive pattern", which means the implementation is based on the experience of previous similar projects in other villages.

The requirement of local villagers

Besides greatly improving the basic living environment and the quality of life of rural residents, the resettlement projects also saved land, promoted the extension of infrastructure to suburbs, and public service coverage to rural areas. This is a requirement by local villagers for many reasons. Infrastructure was quite weak, including the road systems, gas, water, hot water and telecommunications, all are not complete, and the village lacked public services, culture, education and health and environmental protection. However it is not possible for all the construction of these facilities to be undertaken by an individual household. Secondly, the traditional housing had been in disrepair for a long time, and completely lacked facilities such as lighting, ventilation, heating and heating insulation, and the poor quality of housing was also a potential safety hazard – for example, the mud walls sometimes collapsed in a typhoon, or electric was cut off in a heavy rain. Lastly, it was found that many local households could not afford to maintain or rebuild the housing. All these factors led the villagers and the Village Committee to reach a consensus within a short period, and to work towards the speedy completion of new housing projects (Interview survey, 2016).

Top-down and industrial park

The resettlement project is a top-down government-led regeneration plan, a unified plan respecting the wishes of farmers, with coordination by the local Village Committee, combined with market mechanisms (outsourced to a professional construction team). This achieved support for the "new village" policy and the collective funding from the local village Community Committee, to ensure the effective implementation of rural projects.

However, the most basic driving power for rural residential change is rural industry development (Zhu, 2007). Not only because the concentrated residential housing in the resettlement neighbourhood may create the necessary preconditions for developing and using infrastructure and public services, but also because the resettled residential areas inter-related living and working. It is only around a 2-minutes walking distance from the industrial park to the residential areas, and the abundant supply of new housing is almost double the accommodation needs (Interview survey, 2015).

7.4.3 Residential of migrants: to be stable

The changes of migrant workers' living conditions can be revealed through an understanding of the details of their three residential moves, since the questionnaire data shows that 98.8% of migrant workers have moved less than three times.

Table 7.5 Residential changes of migrant workers in Shangshao

	1st move	2nd move	3rd move
<i>Types preference</i>	——	——	Six-floor apartments and shared in resettled housing
<i>Length of residence</i>	38.6% are within 2 years, 52.63% are over 3 years	22.1% are within 2 years, 55.8% are over 3 years	No one is less than 2 years, 71.8% are over 3 years
<i>Living places</i>	Dormitory or work place, shared rent	Rent nearby the work place or in village-in-city	Buy or rent housing in suburb
<i>Residential types</i>	Work place, renting and buying property	Renting becoming dominant, buying significantly increasing	Around 50% are buying and 50% are renting
<i>Living area</i>	76.89% are less than 30 m ² , 5.6% over 100 m ²	66.3% are less than 30 m ² and 11.5% are over 100 m ²	25.26% are less than 30 m ² and 50.56% are over 100 m ²
<i>Reasons of moving</i>	80.41% for jobs, 16.8% for bigger living areas	68.4% for jobs, 17.9% for bigger areas and family factors	49% for jobs, 21.6% for bigger areas and family factors
<i>Facilities</i>	No independent kitchen or bathroom	Independent kitchen, no bathroom or drainage	Independent kitchen, bathroom, toilet, drainage
<i>Living with whom</i>	Alone or with colleagues	Children and spouse	Spouse, children, old parents

Source: Author's questionnaire and interview survey, 2015

Overall, Table 7.5 describes the improvement of migrants' residential conditions in terms of living areas, facilities, forms, and who they lived with. There are also some features about their residences such as the reasons for accommodation change, the usage of the living space and moving frequency. The following are the details based on the survey data.

Mixed usage: living and working

Rural-migrant households are more concentrated in the north and west of the resettlement area.

"Only the small size apartments are relatively cheap, and we can afford it" (Interview, Female, 33 years old, 2015).

In the field studies of Shangshao, a group of children can be seen running around and some young people are heard chatting in Mandarin (not in the local accent) in those six-floor buildings in the north of the village. It is also easy to see piles of discarded air conditioners in the two-floor housing located in the west of the village, and construction materials piled by the wall, and many bicycles parked downstairs (Figure 7.9).



Figure 7.9 (a) Construction materials piled by the wall, Shangshao, 2015 **Figure 7.9 (b) Many bicycles parked downstairs, Shangshao, 2015**

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

"We have lots of projects for housing decoration in this new resettlement neighbourhood, because they all need us" (Interviews, female, 42 years old, 2015). Many migrant workers use their ground floor as a place for a maintenance shop or cargo for their business, since it saves cost. And as this new housing is usually sold to rural migrants at triple the price for locals, 118 m² housing costs around 500,000 RMB, so the majority are faced with buying a smaller sized flat in the six-floor apartment buildings, or renting a house both for doing business on the ground floor and living on the first floor.

Trend: to live bigger

Comparing the living space of migrant workers per household in downtown, 82.7% of total migrant households' living area is 12.5 square metres per household, but in the suburbs the migrant workers' living area is apparently bigger.

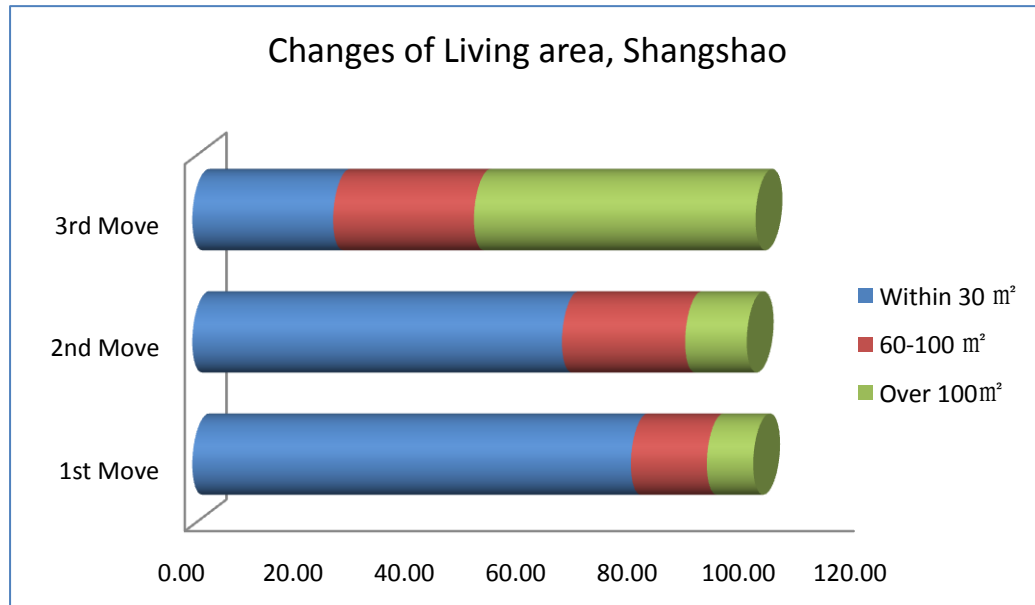


Figure 7.10 Changes of migrants' living areas in Shangshao

Source: Author's questionnaire survey, 2015

In the interview survey it was revealed that "30 square metres" of household living area is considered as relatively small in a suburban village, as the questionnaires data showed that around 80% are less than 30 square metres in their first move, which falls to 25.26% in the third move, but "over 100 square metres" increased from 5.6% to 50.56% (Figure 7.10).

It was also found that usually the rent is only about 15-25% of individual income in Shangshao, therefore the residents here face less financial pressure, and are more capable of living in a larger apartment shared with the family. The questionnaire data supports this point, with nowadays only 10.5% of total migrants living alone, 68.3% with spouse and children, and 10.3% with senior parents in Shangshao village. The change of who they live with has also influenced living preferences, as the factor of "job and work" dropped from 80.41% to 49%, but other reasons for residential preferences became multiple, including "change to bigger areas", "children's education", "rent", "living with adult children", all of which exhibited a slight growth.

In China's traditional culture, senior parents would like to take care of their grandchildren and adult children also want to bring them to live together in the city, hence there are a certain percentage of migrant families with three generations living together.

"I came here four years ago, to look after my grandchildren, cooking, picking him up from school"
(Interview, female, 68 years old, 2015).

Moving frequency: declining

The questionnaire data shows that male migrants come to the city significantly earlier than females. In traditional Chinese society, male responsibility for the household economy is much heavier than that for women, therefore it is likely that married men rather than women will work outside the home. Women bear the responsibility of taking care of senior parents and raising children, and once their children have grown up, they would be reunited as a family in the city where their husband already has a stable job and income (Interview, 2015).



Figure 7.11 Changes in migrants' length of residence, Shangshao

Source: Author's questionnaire survey, 2015

Frequent moves reflect “floating” and “uncertainty”, but the frequency of moves declines dramatically as they prefer living with their family rather than sharing with a colleague when their income level increases. Figure 7.11 clearly shows that the “over 2 years” increases from around 60% to 100% in the third move.

Living: renting or buying

Instead of sharing with others living in a dormitory or a work place, migrants would like to stay with family (prefer renting and buying). As the questionnaire data shows, “living alone” dropped from 42.11% to 3.1%, and “living with a colleague” declined from 10.5% to 0%, whereas “living with children and spouses” grew dramatically from 32.1% to 59.9% over the three rounds of moves.

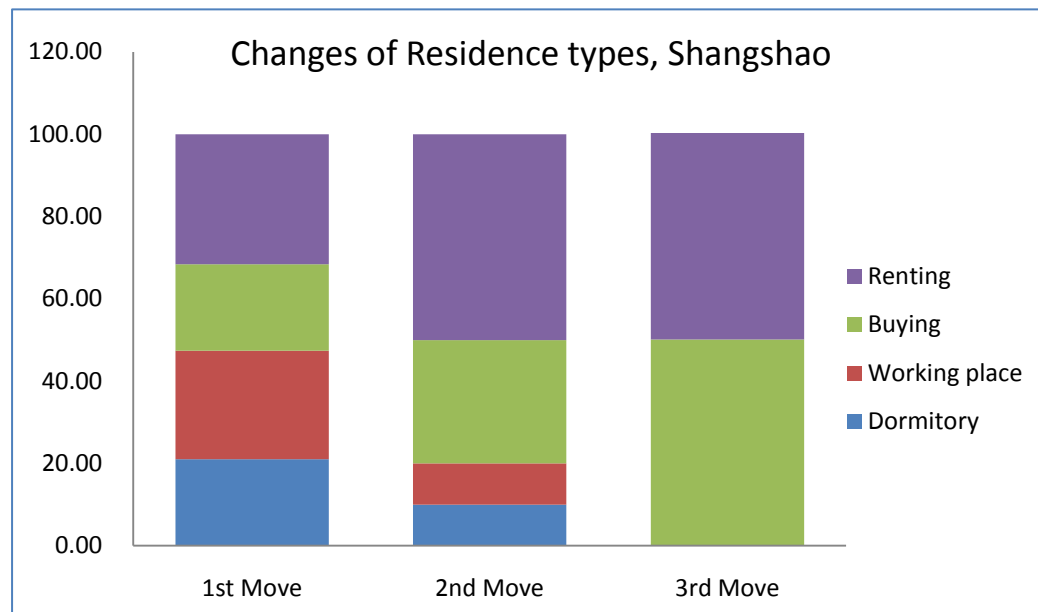


Figure 7.12 Changes in migrants' residence types, Shangshao

Source: Author's questionnaires survey, 2015

Also it may be noted that nearly 50% of them purchased housing (Figure 7.12), once they were familiar and accustomed to local life. In particular, as their children were born locally, they may have had a stronger self-identity as a local, and a greater intention to buy local property. However, they found they can only afford the cheaper housing of "small rights property¹²" (only one-third of the housing market price because of no legal ownership) in Shangshao village.

Decision making: less information

No matter whether the decision is voluntary or involuntary, all relocations of households have to go through the process of looking for housing availability and making the decision to live in a new residence (Knox and Pinch, 2000). The search process entails finding a suitable target property within the available time, with limited locality and in the appropriate price range, therefore the accommodation search is constrained by many conditions (Palm, 1976). In the interview survey, it was found that for more than half of the migrant workers the accommodation search took less than one week, and over 80% of their searching time took place within half a month. Information channels are limited, and they rely on a housing intermediary agent.

¹² **Limited property rights house:** Limited property rights house refers to the houses, built on rural collective land, unpaid land transfer fees and other fees, which ownership certificates not issued by the national housing authorities, but issued by the township government or village committee, also known as "rural property house". "Limited property rights house" is not a legal concept, it is a conventional appellation formed in social practice. Specifically, without land use certificates and a permit for presale issued by nation, the purchase contract would not give the record in the Land and Housing Bureau, then the so-called certificates of title is not a truly valid certificates ("PRC Law on Land Management", 2014; Yan, 2008; Jiang & Tan, 2009).

"Selecting an accommodation is mainly a matter of relying on a friend, or randomly going anywhere to see the rental ads posted on the wall, then making a direct call to go to have a look if it is suitable. Usually my job keeps me very busy, so making a second appointment to see the accommodation is very difficult for me, so I usually decided to take it after one viewing as long as it seems OK" (38-year-old Zhou, migrant worker).

In addition, it was also found that none of the migrant workers relied on the government or the relevant agencies for accommodation information. If the government and the policy were able to provide a richer package of information efficiently and effectively, helping migrants make their choice, this would reduce the probability of accommodation constantly changing, improving stability and quality of life.

Conclusion: three phases of migrants' accommodation: Living, working, dwelling

Frequent residential relocation is the main feature of migrant workers living in a city. Most of them are employed as labour-intensive workers, have limited time for searching for new accommodation, less ability to pay, and unstable work, and therefore require constant adjustment of their residential accommodation to meet the needs of their job changes. As a result, the main feature of migrants' residences is the frequency and progressive change oriented by their jobs and working. It has been found that the frequency of moving gradually decreased as jobs became stable and the migrants stayed longer in Ningbo; "passive moves" then dropped, and the migrants had more initiative when choosing their living preferences. Generally, as their income changes, family members are added, paying capability improves and they stay longer in their accommodation. The process of migrant residential changes can be divided into three dominant stages, namely sleeping, working and dwelling (Table 7.6).

Table 7.6 The three phases of migrants' accommodation in the suburb of Ningbo

<i>Phases</i>	<i>Length</i>	<i>Motivations</i>	<i>Places</i>	<i>Main features</i>
<i>Sleeping</i>	Less than 1 year	Working location	Dormitory/working place/ shared rent	Alone
<i>Working</i>	1-5 years	Working location and rent	Rent nearby working place	Spouse and children
<i>Dwelling</i>	Over 5 years	Social factors: prices, areas, environment	Renting or buying a house in suburb	Spouse, children and old parents

Source: Author's questionnaire survey, 2015

In the "sleeping stage", migrant workers just come to the city with little experience of residence searching. Most rely on their relatives or friends, and their priority is to survive in the city – the accommodation where they live is expected only to meet the basic function of sleeping, so their living preference is quite passive.

"Reluctant to spend money as no money to spend" is most migrants' situation when they first

arrive. The majority live in factory dormitories shared with four people, even 12 people lived in one room sometimes, or people just slept in the workplace at night (Interview survey, 2015). For example, Wang, 27 years old, came to Ningbo in 2011. He was working in a restaurant owned by his relative, in order to save money he slept on a chair in the restaurant at night for about two years. He later found a job in a glass factory, living in a room with other three co-workers; a total of eight rooms in a corridor, with one public toilet and a shower room (Interview, 2015). As there is a strong inter-dependence among the villagers, relatives and other acquaintances of old social networks, it becomes difficult to jump out of the circle.

In the “working phase”, the residence moves start to have a certain initiative. The migrants make a decision mainly influenced by work factors, although they still have limited paying capability. So they prefer living where they have more opportunities for career development, as they are familiar with urban living and the working environment, as well as accumulating job skills. Their living conditions also have a certain upgrade, as in the suburb village they can live in cheaper but bigger rooms (500RMB per month rent is about 65 square metres in Shangshao), which also creates the most basic conditions of living together with families.

In the “dwelling phase”, residence change is dominated by improving living conditions. That is, individual career development will not be negatively affected by their residential location, therefore they have more intention to improve their living conditions by residence relocation. After working and living in the city for over five years, most migrants have relatively stable jobs, a certain economic base, and a certain social network, which influences their living demands in two main respects. They have urgent aspirations to change their living conditions since they have had to bear living in poor conditions for years; secondly, the expansion of family members in the city, children growing up, and the self-identity of city life, bring growing motivation for obtaining a private real estate. Due to the unattainable prices of housing downtown, most of them only can buy limited property rights housing in a suburb village, in order to achieve part of their dream of settling down in the city.

7.5 Administrative changes: to be self-governing

Since the early 1950s, China’s rural community governance system has been through three major phases: the People’s Commune System (PCS), the Village Committee (VC) and the Post-agriculture tax of the Village Committee (VCPT). It has had very different ways of exercising power, administrative models, and management over recent decades.

Fundamentally, the changes can be understood as power changing from “absolute top-down” to “bottom-up”, specifically after totally abolishing the agricultural tax in 2006. The village Community Committee had completely changed their major responsibilities from “collecting tax of each household” to “providing public service and helping local villagers”.

7.5.1 Changes of administrative model: from absolute manipulation to self-governance

Table 7.7 Changes of village administrative models in Shangshao

<i>Administrative model</i>	Power shared	Periods	Main features
<i>People's Commune System (PCS)</i>	Absolute manipulation by governments	1958-1982	Supervising them working
<i>Village Committee (VC)</i>	Shared power by governments and village community	1983-2006	Collecting agricultural tax
<i>Village Committee of post-tax (VCPT)</i>	Self-governance by VC, and participation by diverse social groups and villagers	2006-today	Developing the quality of life

Source: Author's interview survey, 2015

In the phase of the PCS, the major task of administration in the village was to arrange adult villagers into several teams, and to supervise them working for the collective and public sectors. Then, the villagers started to enjoy more freedom and workers' rights when working as part of the "Rural contract responsibility system"¹³, implemented in the early 1980s; the VC's major responsibility consisted of collecting agricultural tax from each household. However, its task has changed to developing the quality of life, maintaining its collective properties since the abolition of the agricultural tax in 2006.

1. The People's Commune System (PCS): absolute manipulation

Since the document "The central committee of the communist party of China on establishing PCS to resolve rural problems" was issued by central government in 1958, the PCS was implemented throughout rural China. The rural society's organisation system can be considered as "embedded" directly by central government; this means that all matters affecting village members are strictly controlled by state power, including social activities, working, security, and economic and administrative aspects. National political power was achieved at an unprecedented level (Du, 2005). It is considered that the PCS completed political integration, and made the Chinese rural society into an all-inclusive wholly top-down political system. However, in so doing, it weakened the conventional family and local villagers' identity, which was more focused on working for collective goods, such as planting on public agricultural land, or looking after the cows belonging to the local collective, and as a result this all ensured the basic supply of rural demand (Du, 2005).

¹³ The rural contract responsibility system (RCRS) was an important reform in rural China in the early 1980s, and the key part was to separate the land ownership from the management rights. This means that the collective (usually it is village committee) has the land ownership, but distributes the management rights to each household, who can be responsible for their own profits and losses. While the collective is only in charge of supervising their land use, unified arrangement of public facilities, land adjustment and distribution based on their contracts, form a set of effective management systems (Zhou, 2004; Du, 2009; Xu, 2008).

Figure 7.13 shows a typical scenario where local villagers belonging to different working teams are working in their responsible lands, to achieve the tasks arranged by their supervisors in the village.



Figure 7.13 Working purely for collective and public sectors in 1971



Figure 7.14 Abolition of agricultural tax stamp in 2006

Sources: Local chronicles of Ningbo 1971; Ningbo Yearbook 2006

However, the excessive concentration of power finally inhibited individual autonomy, enthusiasm and diversity of rural development (Xu, 2006), directly resulting in great pressure for rural economic and social development. Their cooperative working became a "communal pot", where everyone could share absolute profit equally, without any consideration of individual contributions and productivity. This denies individual initiative at a maximum and exerts great pressure on material life in rural society.

"I was a teenager at that time, we were extremely poor; the thing we should most look forward to was the most fearful thing for me at that moment, that is dining, because every day I was nearly starving but I was forced to eat the black sweet potato porridge every meal, so eating became very nauseous" (Interview, Mr Shao, 59 years old, 2015).

2. Village Committee (VC): sharing power

The document "Some problems with current rural economic policy" was issued by the CPC Central Committee in 1983, aimed at reforming the PCS. It established the VC, and fully implemented the Household Contract Responsibility System (RCRS) in rural areas (dividing up the collectively owned assets, and making the villagers responsible for only their own farmland), which greatly promoted agro-productivity, improving individual autonomy and laying the foundation for village governance.

"We were so excited about the opportunity, that is we can freely work for ourselves, and as a result most village land was developed for agriculture within three years " (Interview, Mr Shao, 59 years old, 2015).

"The villagers committees of the People's Republic of China (trial)" issued in 1987 marked the formal establishment of a "Village Committee" system; the VC became the essence of self-governance (Liu, 2009). This new system separated the power for VC and ensured the national regime's effective control of rural society by appropriate external administrative powers. A new three-tier management system "groups of villagers –VC – township or sub-district-level government" was established, and it embodied the governance and administrative structure in rural society (Jin, 2000). This was a system that was able to balance the sharing of power between the state and the rural communities. As a result, state power began to withdraw from the rural community, and the power of national sectors and rural organizations became separated; moreover, as a self-governing organisation, the VC was able to provide sufficient space for NGOs and charities.

However, this new system did not run very effectively. Instead of focusing on village level affairs, the VC had to prioritise a large number of tasks, projects, and guidance from superior governments. Eventually, the committees preferred to depart from a public service role, since their financial resources came from the budget office of sub-district-level government. In addition, as a consequence of rapid urbanization, rural communities were socially and economically restructured after the late 1990s. "The rural society is in a transformation process, from semi-closed to fully open, from being based on agricultural to multiple economic. The accelerating transformation in rural society, employment structure, lifestyle, business methods and ideas, have all undergone profound changes, therefore, villagers' independence and individual needs are ever-growing" (Wu, 2008). Then, to satisfy the individual and diversified demand, the village governance models had to change.

3. Village Committee of post-tax (VCPT): quality of life, participation

As the policy for "a transformation of agricultural policy adjustment and rural governance restructure" was issued in the mid-2000s, agricultural taxes were totally abolished in rural China in 2006 (China Central Government, 2015). Figure 7.12 shows a stamp about "abolishing agricultural tax in 2006", which meant that the VCPT did not have to take responsibility for collecting agricultural tax anymore.

"I had a headache every day in that period, because we had to use a variety of methods to collect taxes before the deadline and it was not easy at all" (Interview, Mr Shao, January 2015).

The responsibilities and priorities of the VC have changed since the tax reform in 2006, as Table 7.8 shows. It indicates that collecting tax, birth control and planned production were the

most important jobs of the local VC in the period of 1983 to 2006 (before the tax reform), but that its priorities changed to “developing quality of life”, “taking care of the old”, “encouraging participation”, and “maintaining property” after 2006.

Table 7.8 The changes in the Village Committee’s functions, Shangshao

<i>Period</i>	Priority	Second priority	Third priority
1983- 2006	Collecting tax	Birth control	Planned production
Since 2006	Quality of life and old-age security	Participation	Property management and maintenance

Source: Author’s interview survey, 2015

The VC initially promoted the quality of villagers’ lives. Facing a series of challenges in the late 2000s, such as land use conflicts, environmental pollution, dilapidated houses and an aging population, the VC actively responded by:

- (1) Developing resettlement housing, with the first phase of the project established for the villagers in January 2006;
- (2) Building up new standardised plants to attract investment, and distributing equally the profits to individual villagers at the end of a year;
- (3) Promoting poverty relief for taking care of elderly people. For example, the VC organised a “helping the old” day in order to provide free services for old people, including a free haircut, free laundry and free cleaning (see Figure 7.16).

The VC also hired three unemployed women to look after the childless and old villagers in daily life.

"The VC gave the job to me in 2012, then I started to take care of three old people until now. And the jobs of cleaning public toilets also were given to me last year by the Committee, this significantly added to my wages" (Ms. Shao, 53 years old, January 2015);

- (4) Managing and maintaining rural property by hiring professionals;
- (5) Actively promoting universal health insurance, and inviting medical experts to attend seminars and do presentations. For example, Dr. Zhang from Ningbo public No.3 Hospital organised seminars about Diabetes prevention and healthy eating in April 27, 2015 (Figure 7.15).



**Figure 7.15 Dr. Zhang (Ningbo No.3 Hospital)
Lecture: Diabetes and healthy eating, 2015**



**Figure 7.16 Providing a free service for
local old villagers, 2014**

Source: Author's interview and field survey, 2015

Moreover, the VCPT actively promoted self-governance.

"By supporting sub-district-level government, Shangshao village set up a "village council room" for discussion of official business among locals and a number of mutual assistance groups, so the difficulties and requirements of villagers can quickly reach the VC; then the Village Committee can easily understand the ideas and situations of villagers in order to make more pragmatic decisions for development, finally all these formed the "VC – village council – mutual aid team" which had direct interaction within our village community" (Interview, Mr Shao, 59 years old, 2015).

This established relationship among the committee, villagers and other social organisations can be seen as bilateral cooperation and multi-stakeholder involvement governed by rules and laws.

The major responsibilities for the VCPT had shifted from superior government to the village, and the tasks and responsibilities now enhance the quality of life and promote participation, rather than finishing the tasks based on administrative orders from superior government. Then, with the growing self-integration and coordination capabilities of village self-governance organisations, the managerial authority of the sub-district and township-level governments has contracted, and their relationships have gradually evolved from "control-dependent" to "interactive cooperation."

The above descriptions are the three phases of village administration. In the following section the details of the VC and problems in current administration are analysed.

7.5.2 The major responsibilities: learning policies, voting, enhancing quality of life

Since abolishing agricultural tax in 2006, the major responsibilities of the VC turned to the question of how to enhance the villagers' quality of life, and in order to do this, the VC used a combination of ways to achieve support from superior government. It established a consensus

among the villagers, mainly through measures to develop the local economy.

Figure 7.17 contains four parts: the process of learning policies, the voting process, development of the economy and cultivating participation.

Through learning about top-down policies and achieving the locals' support by voting, the VC can conduct project implementation efficiently, and as a result it can accumulate enough funding to enhance the quality of life, including safeguarding the employment rate, protecting the environment, improving the quality of housing, providing a bonus for villagers, property management, and taking care of disadvantaged people. And the process can be transparent and public by publishing the information on the village website. Gradually this can win the mutual trust of the people and the committee, which will be the foundation of public participation in village development, committee elections and community administration. Therefore, the following section examines each of the four parts to describe the details and features of the VC's core responsibilities and processes after 2006.

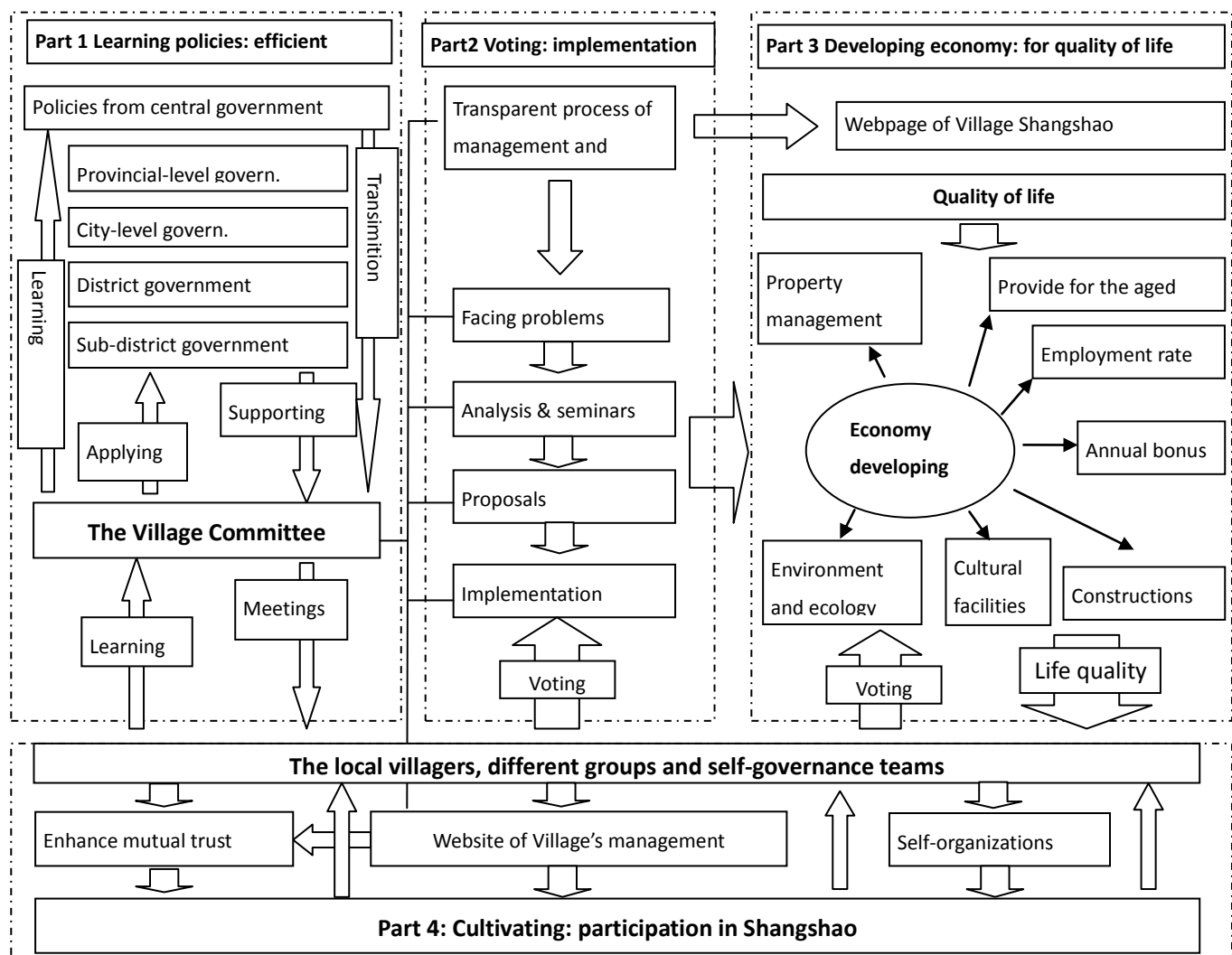


Figure 7.17 Major responsibilities of the VC in Shangshao, 2015

Source: Author's interview survey, 2015

Developing the village economy, as the key responsibility of the VC, aims to enhance locals' quality of life. Encouraging participation in local economic development, village management and projects is also one of their core responsibilities, because having the villagers' consensus has become the premise of project implementation. But how this is communicated and used to win the support of superior governments is also crucial, and learning policies can be the most efficient way.

Part 1: Learning policies: efficient

Usually members of the VC are requested to attend seminars to learn new policies originally issued by the National People's Congress in Beijing, in the lecture rooms of the sub-district-level government building. Actually, this form of seminar is arranged in a decreasing sequence of government levels, which are central government, provincial level, city level, district level, sub-district level and village level. Usually, the learning seminar is compulsory for the VC members, about 3-4 seminars of one week, and is held a dozen times a year. Then, the VC would return to the village and organise dissemination of the information among the local communist party members; finally these party members would further organise groups of villagers to spread the understanding of new policies.



Figure 7.18 The learning of the policy of “Two Children Alone” in Zhuangqiao sub-district government, Jan. 2014

Source: Author's interview and field survey, 2015

This form of learning and implementation is highly efficient. For example, the new policy “Two Children” was original issued by the eighteenth session of the "CPC Central Committee on deepening reform of the overall number of major issues" in Beijing in Nov. 2013 (China's

official government website, 2015), but these policy learning seminars arrived at the bottom level of government in less than 2 months, and were organised by the professional sector mainly in charge of family plan and birth control of the Zhuangqiao sub-district government: The Population and Family Planning Commission.

Figure 7.18 shows a seminar taking place in Ningbo, January 2014, when a total of 52 people from the departments of birth control and rural migrants' management of different villages within this sub-district administrative zone met to learn about the policies of "Two Children", which basically means that a couple can have a second baby if any one of them is the only child of his or her family (China's government, 2015). Then, members of VC would bring back the learning and understanding of new policies to the local communist party members by a series of meetings and seminars, and eventually party members would spread this information by group studies (Figure 7.19.B).



Figure 7.19(A) The family planning leaflet, 2014

Figure 7.19.(B) The party members organising a seminar group in Shangshao, 2014

Source: Author's interview and field survey, 2015

For example, the party members designed the leaflets about the policies of family planning and birth based on the new policy in 2014, and distributed them to villagers in seminar groups (Figure 7.19.A).

Part 2: Voting: for implementation

If the policies related to any practical issues and projects in construction, infrastructure and finance, usually the VC would make proposals about local development, taking into consideration their local conditions and advantages, and these would be voted on in a villagers' assembly (Figure 7.20). As a result, the locals' consensus would ensure the smooth implementation of projects, and achieve support from superior government. Figure 7.20 shows villagers voting for a project about a public green, in the villagers' representative conference organised by the local VC in 2014.



Figure 7.20 Voting in villagers conference in Shangshao, 2014



Figure 7.21 The industrial standard plants in Shangshao village, 2015

Source: Author's interview and field survey, 2015

This process can be understood clearly by the specific case of developing the industrial zone in Shangshao village (Figure 7.21).

Firstly is discussion. The VC ran different seminars and meetings discussing the project's feasibility, and considering the problems, advantages, development and challenges of the village in the late 1990s. Finally it produced a proposal.

Secondly is voting. The voting was conducted in the villagers' assembly, and the village (the committee and the villagers) achieved consensus on a decision to conduct this project.

"The project is the largest ever project in our village, so we must proceed carefully because it costs so much. Fortunately, we have a consensus on the fact that it would contribute to our village" (Interview, the director of Shangshao VC, 2015).

Thirdly, the VC needs to achieve support. By reference to "the core leadership role in basic level institution to build New Socialist Countryside" as part of the "new village" policies, the proposed project matched the policies, therefore the VC achieved the support from superior government, in terms of consulting and funding.

Finally it came implementation. A total of 40 million RMB was invested in building the industrial zone, including 44,000 square metres of standard plants and office buildings, which attracted 47 enterprises, including Yongjiu Cross-magnetic Enterprise, and Changqi Plastic products. It achieved a total income of over 500 million RMB, and a per capita income of over 23,000 RMB in 2015 (Jiangbei District Local Records, 2015). Figure 7.21 shows the industrial standard plants in Shangshao village.

The significant feature of a project running in the village is the combination of the power and support of top-down and bottom-up. Learning about the new policies can achieve top-down support for funding, consulting and policies, and through open seminars and voting in the

villagers' assembly conference, consensus can be gained from the bottom up.

Part 3: Developing the economy: for quality of life

Combining the different policies and themes issued by the central government, and the approval gained by the locals voting, the VC makes proposals based on their relative advantages. The aim is to develop the economy in order to enhance the quality of life in terms of taking care of elderly people, providing job opportunities, improving environmental quality, and property management and maintenance; all of these can be considered as different facets of the quality of life.

Supporting disadvantaged people

Enhancing the quality of life includes improving the quality of housing, environmental conditions, managing properties, and specifically taking care of disadvantaged villagers. The committee has invested over 10 million RMB in pensions for landless villagers and the old; and it recommended unemployed villagers should be found work in the companies of the local industrial zone, or provided with jobs concerning the village's property management and maintenance, such as grass cutting, maintenance man, security guard and cleaners. As a result it has maintained an employment rate of over 98% for more than a decade (Based on the interviews with Shangshao VC and Zhuangqiao sub-district government, January 2015).

Enhancing the village environment and ecology

As the industrial zone polluted the only river of the village, the VC initially organised seminars about the industrial and residential environment in the 2010s. This closely matched the top-down policy "Five water treatment, ahead of the sewage treatment"¹⁴ issued by the Ningbo municipality in the early 2010s, then projects about cleaning industrial waste water and rural domestic waste were proposed by the VC. As a result, No. DN400 trunk sewer was completed in the industrial concentration zone in June 2014, and the drainage system for the new resettlement residential area was finished in November 2014.

Moreover, residents have more demanding standards for the living environment. *"As the living standards continuously improved as the local economy has developed, the residents' demand for environmental quality has also grown. We have proposed several projects about river improvement and a green public space"* (Interview, the village secretary of Shangshao village Committee, Mr Lin, 54 years old, 2015).

A public green park of 30 acres was built in 2014, with the gradual implementation of other projects regarding developing green areas and the environment. The forest cover rate of the overall village is over 30%, 90% of households have a green courtyard, and the number of

¹⁴ A total of "five water treatment", includes sewage treatment, flood water, drainage water, water protection, and water-saving. (Ningbo Municipality, Feb. 2014)

trees per capita is more than 10 (Based on the interviews of Zhuangqiao Sub-district Government and Shangshao VC, 2015). Eventually, this progress also won a new title for Shangshang: "A forest village" awarded by the superior government of Zhuangqiao sub-district (Interview, Zhuangqiao sub-district government, 2015). Figure 7.22 is the green park in Shangshao village, an important place for social activities and leisure.



Figure 7.22 The public green park, 2015
Source: Author's field survey, 2015



Figure 7.23 The Sports Centre, 2015
Source: Author's field survey, 2015

Maintaining the village property

As part of the aims of managing residential property effectively, the Shangshao VC set up a professional maintenance team in charge of local properties, infrastructure and public facilities, after receiving support from the superior government in 2011. Specifically, a 22-employee team is in charge of security, sanitation, gas, electricity & water maintenance (Based on the interviews of Shangshao VC, 2015).

"I can feel the environment has been much better since 2012 and my water faucet in the kitchen was fixed by the maintenance team only half an hour after my call" (Interview, Mrs De, aged 54 January 2015).

In addition, plenty of cultural and recreational facilities have been built which are free to locals, including a sports centre, library, chess and card room, television room and basketball court (Interview, local VC, 2015). For example, Figure 7.23 shows the gym which is free and open for everyone in the village.

Part 4: Cultivating participation

Management process: to be public

The website of Shangshao village has been used since 2013 as a public information platform for administrative procedures, budget, use of funds, projects and social activities, Communist party affairs, village's asset structure, important notices, and public services.



Figure 7.24 Website of Shangshao village

Source: Shangshao Village, 2015

For example, Figure 7.24 shows the webpage accessible on 5th May 2015, providing the above public information. Specifically, 44 administrative functions of Shangshao village Committee are listed, and to avoid the abuse of power, each of the powers and functions has a strictly legal basis, which is set out on the website (Shangshao Village, 2015).

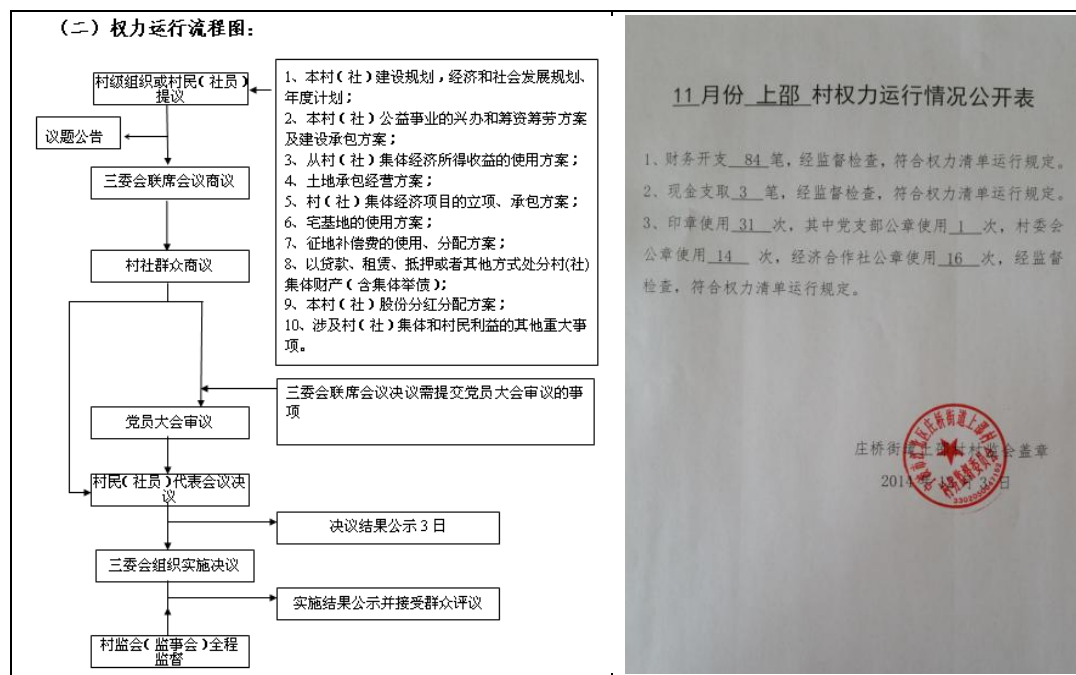


Figure 7.25 The flow chart of project, 2015

Source: Author's interview survey, 2015

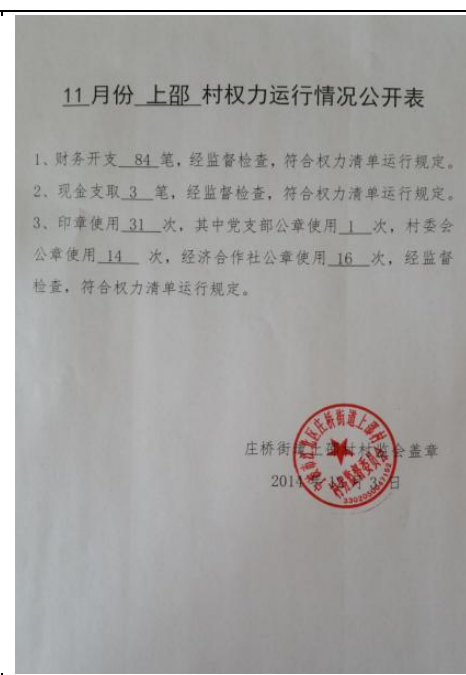


Figure 7.26 Public power using, 2015

In addition, it also publicises the process and the details of available powers. Figure 7.25 describes the project process, and the explicit powers of the committee and villagers, covering the first step “proposal” to the last step “implementation”, including “seminar, discussion meetings” and “public three days of resolution”. Figure 7.26 is the official document for checking the usage of official seals, including what type and how many times, and in which period.



Figure 7.27 The notice about a subsidy for disadvantaged residents 2015

Source: Author's interview and field survey, 2015

Figure 7.27 shows a public notice about supporting disadvantaged people, low-income households, the disabled, and people in straitened circumstances. The rest of the villagers can then participate and supervise the process, based on the details of names, economic situation and contact information published on the website.

Encouraging participation

A room intended specifically for regular seminars and meetings has been used since 2008, and is known as the “Management & Service Room”, providing a platform for any issues about residential life. For example, the project about public toilets was relocated after discussion among the VC and the residents in this room in 2014, and as a result one has been located near to the entrance of the vegetable market and the other one is located northwest of the park. These were more effective since the villagers are probably the best judges of where the best locations would be (Interview with Mr. Lin, Shangshao VC, 2015).

“I never had this kind of opportunity of participating in any project” (villager, female, 49 years old, Interview, 2015).

Besides the “room”, more self-governance groups have appeared recently, such as a Science and Technology Group, a Family Planning Monitoring Group, a Security Administration Group, and a Civil Mediation Group, who cover almost all parts of residential daily life. For example, the Sunshine Healthy Insurance Group is in charge of publicising the policies and preferential treatment of Ningbo urban medical insurance, and has designed a booklet to distribute to local residents with the cooperation of the local VC (Figure 7.28).

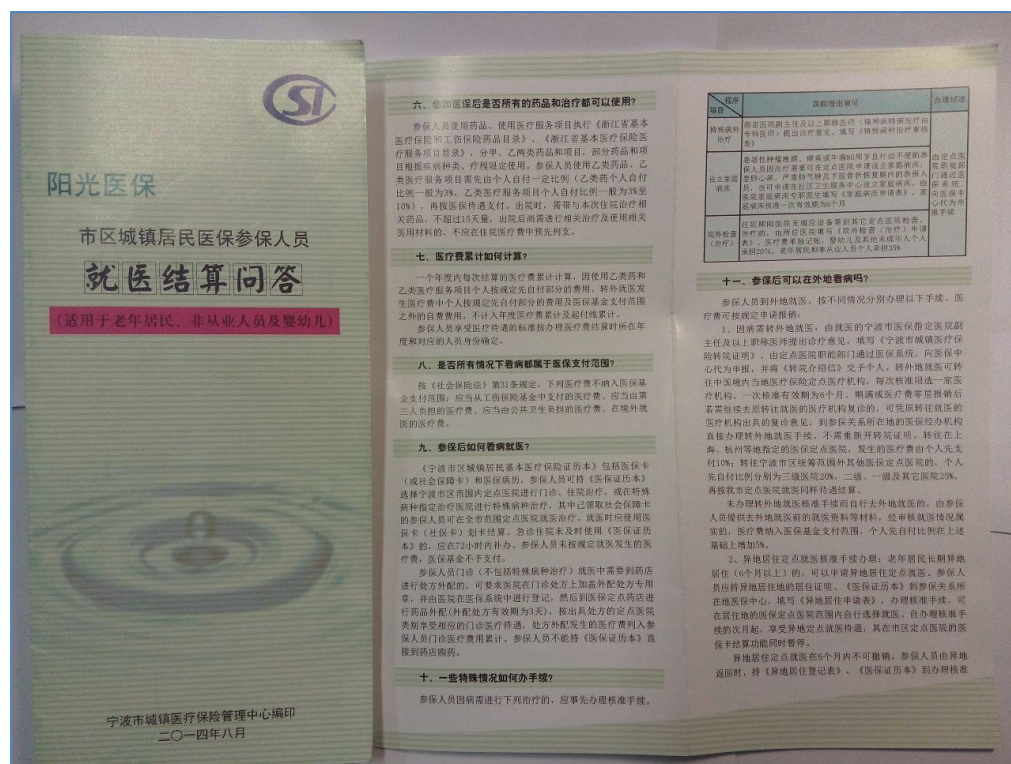


Figure 7.28 Sunshine Health Insurance leaflet, 2015

Source: Author's interview and field survey, 2015

After a Sunshine Healthy Insurance Group home visit, Mr Zhang (Male, 79 years old), who had been plagued by a chronic disease, obtained his healthcare card after applying for local health insurance at Xingxiang hospital in Zhuangqiao sub-district (Interview, January 2015). In all, 99.8% of rural residents in Zhuangqiao sub-district areas had their insurance card under the (NCMS) New Rural Cooperative Medical System (NCMS), a newly adopted public health insurance programme established in rural China in 2002 (Community Healthy Service Centre of Zhuangqiao Sub-district, 2015).

Nowadays, the social employment guarantee, and medical and health service systems in Zhuangqiao sub-district zone have been successively established by local government. The two-level medical treatment and public health system was established and includes a community health service centre as the dominant provider at sub-district level and a clinic as the important complement at the village level. The jobless residents, including unemployed, landless farmers and those with disabilities, are able to apply for jobs through many channels.

“Sunshine Healthy Insurance” can also be considered as a self-governing group for local residents’ health. It can provide valuable information to local residents, protecting their rights with regard to medical resources, and can also report realistic problems to superior governments and related authorities that arise through the practice in the village. More importantly, this group instituted by locals actually improved the standard of participation through a series of actions, including elections, discussion, decision making, management and supervision. As a result, locals and self-governance groups have grown further in terms of self-identity, participation awareness and legal consciousness (Interview survey, Zhuangqiao Sub-district Government, 2015).

7.5.3 Problems of administration: passive voting, unreal participation, ignored migrants

It is clear that changing the village administration encourages participation in elections and village development, but there are some big problems in practice; locals do not have a passion for voting, participation is at the lower level, and rural-migrant residents are always the disadvantaged group in everything.

Voting: passive

Election in the Shangshao village is in strict accordance with the Organisation Law of Village Committee¹⁵ issued in 2010 (Zhejiang Government website, 2011). The procedure and methods for elections are released on the website and bulletin board in advance (Interview, Village Committee, January 2015). The data shows that around 80% villagers are active participants (62.5% are “participating every time”, 18.3% are “frequent participants”); the remaining 20% of them expressed little concern about this (Questionnaires survey, 2015).

Although the election turnout of the VC has been over 80%, it has been found that most voters expressed “indifferent” attitudes in the interview survey. For example, in the question “Why do you like to participate?” some interviewees answered: “we can have benefits as long as we participate and it will make no difference to who is elected”; some others’ responses are “one of the candidates is a relative or a close friend, so I would support him”. In reality, many candidates usually give out money, goods and other materials to voters in order to attract votes. For example, every villager was given a 20kg bag of flour and 200 RMB in the election on 2012, which positively promoted villagers’ participation in voting (80% turnout) (Interview survey, January 2015). But in the interview survey it was found that the real voting rate would be even lower than assumed, since many of villagers voted twice or even three times for their absent relatives and family members.

¹⁵ **The Organization Law of Village Committee**

“The villagers committees of People’s Republic of China (amendment)” has been promulgated, and the biggest change is given the “The villagers and villagers’ representatives meeting” participation in the village committee’s election, supervision, management and the disposition, and “The villagers and villagers’ representatives meeting” are direct participation by the villagers (elections), so that their rights are rights of the villagers (Zhejiang.gov.cn, Zhejiang Province government, 2015; Interview survey in village committee, 2015).



Figure 7.29 Propaganda: collecting rubbish by VC members **Figure 7.30 Honour wall of Shangshao CC VC members**

Source: Author's interview and field survey, 2015

More seriously, many locals reflected on the fact that the good things the VC did were just propaganda, intended to impress officials from superior levels of government. For example, Figure 7.29 is a photo taken by the committee to demonstrate that they were collecting rubbish in the public green park, but actually they were only doing this once a year for propaganda on the website and on the notice board. The man on the left is the director of the VC, and the man on the right is the secretary of the VC (Interview survey in Shangshao, 2015). Figure 7.30 is the honour wall in the office building of Shangshao V C but most of the prizes and honours are awarded by the committee to themselves.

Participation: not really

The principle of the Organisation Law of VC is that the VC should guarantee self-governance to safeguard individual rights and interests (Zhejiang Government website, 2011). But this ideology has not been fully accepted by the villagers. To the question of “who can be trusted when you in trouble?” 66% of them selected “friends and relatives”, and 33% chose “VC”, illustrating that individuals’ old social network, rather than the local VC, dominates their daily life. In reality, many of them complained that the VC themselves have vested interests, only doing things that are good for themselves (Interview survey, 2015).

Moreover, any projects should involve villagers and different stakeholders’ ideas, before implementation, which should also be considered as the key point of village self-government. However, in practice, the weaker stakeholders usually have to compromise first before the final consensus, simply because the project has been almost decided inside the VC together with some crucial villagers, who are usually rich and have more influence (Interview survey, 2015). So most villagers have little passion for participating in these things, but the questionnaire survey showed that they were more willing to become in other things, such as local charity and helping disadvantaged people. 51% of the villagers would attend social

activities related to “donation”, and 29% for “planning and management”.

Migrants: ignored

Migrants have very little participation rights in committee elections, or project decisions. The interview survey showed 59% of total migrants are not involved in any local activities, but 23% of them still considered themselves as locals or new-locals, and have to pay the tax and the fee of property maintenance, so they are keen to attend some local activities, specifically those who had settled down in Shangshao more than a few years ago.

“I came to Ningbo in 1990 as a carpenter, and two of my daughters were respectively born in 1991 and 1993 here, but I was forced to pay an extra schooling fee, only because their Hukou (household registration) is not local. This is completely unfair for us, as we have been living in this village over eight years, and are already part of this village. We have paid more property maintenance fees and tax, but have not attended any local political activities, they just despise us, always.

For example, I just parked my tricycle downstairs last month, as other local villagers usually do, but an old lady came to me and shouted at me to leave immediately, because she said here is not supposed to be a parking place; I argued with her because I have just seen many other locals doing this before, why not me? So I believed that the only reason is that I am not a real local villager” (Interview, Mr Wei, male, 56 years old, 2015).



Figure 7.31 Mother of Mr Wei, was preparing food in pavement, 2015



Figure 7.32 Heating water in pavement, 2015

Source: Author’s interview and field survey, 2015

Figure 7.31 shows Grandma Li, 84 years old, mother of Mr Wei (56 years old), cutting fish to prepare the lunch for the whole family in the pedestrian path, because they are three migrant

generations living squeezed together, with very limited space (actually the senior members just sleep in the kitchen room, since the two bedrooms are occupied by their granddaughters and their son and son's wife). In order to save on the cost of electricity and gas, usually they heat water outside, by burning wood which they collected (Figure 7.32).

Moreover, many migrant workers originally believed they could enjoy the same rights as other locals since they paid whatever the local VC asked them to. However, as their dissatisfaction grew, they gradually lost their trust of the locals and the VC. The VC replied that this distinction (between locals and migrants) does not exist at all, and that in reality, the property maintenance fee paid by migrants is only half the market price, so they ought to be satisfied with everything their Village Committee provides for them.

Generally it can be seen that the VC made profound progress in encouraging participation and focused on enhancing the village's quality of life since 2006, but it always excluding the migrant workers, who account for over half of the total residents and influence the issues of the village today.

7.6 Conclusion

Focusing on Shangshao village, on the outskirts of Ningbo city, according to the appraisal framework of Community Change designed in Chapter 4 and data collection, this chapter analysed the changing details of residents' population structure, employment, economy, housing and village management, and residents' participation, in order to summarise the characteristics of the changes.

There was a rapid expansion of non-agricultural land in the village, and arable land was mainly used for the construction of standard factory plants and resettled housing. Secondly, the local household population urbanisation rate is very low, since the local registered population still has a rural household registration, but very few villagers now engage in agriculture-related work. Especially after 2000, the migrant population increased rapidly, to already almost half of the total population. Thirdly, two reforms of village and rural administrative styles have shown the significant trend whereby power has gradually shifted from top to bottom (from governments and local authorities to self-organised social groups and villages).

Rural industrialisation is the main driving force in this series of village community changes, including the development of a rural industry zone, and ownerships changes from township and collective enterprises to private and joint-venture enterprises, dominated by the accumulation of collective funds (the village Community Committee is in charge of the collective money). This is supported in the form of policies (new rural) by local governments,

so this main driving force can be considered as "from the inside" and "bottom-up" (Ning, 1998; Zheng, 1998).

In addition, the transformation of the rural surplus labour force has become the main driving force of village communities' changes and urbanisation (Ning, 1998). Since the 1990s, most of the local rural surplus labour transferred to the second and third industries to guarantee the sustainable development of the industrial economy, and this change from agriculture to industrial work also facilitated the transformation of lifestyle details, including commuting, consuming, entertainment, family structure, and community involvement. However, the rural-migrant population, mostly engaged in low-level labour-intensive industries, found it difficult to integrate into local and city life, and the Hukou system further promotes this difference; they eventually become "marginalized" (Cui & Ma, 1999).

Chapter Eight: From traditional to urban fringe: the changing context of Yongjiang

Urbanisation, as a significant power, has fundamentally changed the city in terms of land use structure, landscape, population structure, and economic and social structure, specifically in the urban fringe area. As the frontline of urbanisation, research on change in rural communities and villages can reflect the details of these comprehensive changes (Ning, 2003).

In this chapter using the case of Yongjiang village in the Ningbo urban fringe, combined the observation, questionnaires of 28 locals and 24 migrants and students, and interview with graduates, researchers, current students, landlords, owners of restaurants and street foods, members of VC and local elderly villagers from landless villages and neighbourhoods of Yongjiang, the detailed characteristics of traditional villages changing into different forms of settlements are analysed, in terms of resident population structure, employment, housing, public services and infrastructure.

The part of the “village administration” in the changing process in Yongjiang village has been omitted because a similar changing process has been analysed in the first case study of Shangshao village. All of these research aspects have been respectively analysed by the groups of locals and migrant workers in order to clarify the differences between them. Due to the original four villages within Yongjiang being landless villages to different extents, changing into urban resettlement neighbourhoods, village-in-city and university staff-apartment residential area, they have actually experienced different changes in economic, social and residential factors. These have been identified in the following section.

8.1 Yongjiang Communities

A total of over 30,000 people live and work in an area of 4.6 km² of which 24,000 are students and employees of the university. 2,752 are local residents, and around 3,450 make up the migrant population (Figures 8.1 and 8.2).



Figure 8.1 Location of Yongjiang, in Ningbo

Source: Author's field survey, 2015



Figure 8.2 Land sites of Yongjiang in Ningbo, 2013

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

Figure 8.2 shows the land site map of Yongjiang communities in the urban fringe of Ningbo, which has two villages (Yongjiang and Shuangqiao), two urban neighbourhoods, (Lixia and Wencui), and the campuses of Ningbo University today. In administrative terms, apart from Yongjiang village which is part of Qinyong Village, all the others (Shuangqiao, Lixia and Wencui) belong to the Wenzhu Community. Actually the current land use structure in Yongjiang can be considered as the product of land acquisition over the past three decades.

8.1.1 Introduction: the neighbourhoods and villages

Table 8.1 describes the details of neighbourhoods and villages in Yongjiang, including land site, areas, population, and land acquisition.

Table 8.1 The details of villages and neighbourhoods in Yongjiang, 2015

	Yongjiang V.	Shuangqiao V.	Lixia Neigh.	Wencui Neigh.	Ningbo Uni.
Land sites	A	B	C	D	E
Administrative	Yongjiang VC	Wenzhu CC	Wenzhu CC	Wenzhu CC	Ningbo Uni.
Area	1.2 KM ²	0.8 KM ²	0.3 KM ²	0.25 KM ²	1.9KM ²
Household	310	355	230	240	----
Population	870	677	525	500	24000
Migrants	1000	2000	200	250	---
Land acquisitions	Farmland acquisition in 1998	Farmland in 1987; All land acquisition happened in 2014	All land acquisition happened in 1986	It was taken from Lixia's land	All lands are from the three villages
Appendix	Village	Village	Resettlement	Danwei	University

Source: Based on author's field survey, 2015

Basically, local governments can provide sufficient land and space for urban extension and university town development by land functional replacement¹⁶, which means rural land (arable land and residential land) being converted to urban construction land, in order to revitalise the urban fringe area, including the development of real estate, and the extension of infrastructure and public services.

Yongjiang, Shuangqiao and Lixia, as traditional villages based on agriculture, have been dependent on farming for a long time, until everything changed after the urbanisation extension in the urban fringe. Specifically after the policy of “university town” issued by central government against the background of the rising demand for higher education under rapid urbanisation, and economic and social development in the late 1990s (Ningbo Municipality, 2001) there has been a rapid growth in the student population. In 2015, around 24,000 students were on campuses of NBU, spread among 46 buildings of students’ dormitories. This created a market for services, attracting a large number of migrants; most of them preferred to live in the villages surrounding the campus, changing the local resident population structure.

In addition, the increasing number of migrant workers and the community of students, as consumers, were beneficial to those local land-lost households, who worked on the campus as cleaners, property managers and air conditioning repairers, as well as running small property-related businesses (rent), printing and entertainment. However, as the migrant-worker population became an important part of the local neighbourhood and villages, it also put greater pressure on the local environment and its ecology.

Yongjiang (Land Site A) (Figure 8.2): villagers, migrant workers, students

Yongjiang village of 1.3 Km² is located next to Ningbo campus by the Yongjiang River (Figure 8.2). There is a large resident population in the Yongjiang areas, including 870 locals (310 households, around 1000 migrant workers, and a large number of students and graduates).

Through private property reform and decoration, local villages may rent these high-density houses to migrants and student who are attracted by their location, low price and safety (Figure 8.4) (Interview and questionnaire survey, 2015). Most of the farming land acquisition happened in Yongjiang village in the late 1990s, where the student apartments were constructed in 2013 (Figure 8.3).

¹⁶ **Land functional replacement:** Refers to the process of urban development, using differential land prices to transform the old city. It is a way to speed up urban development, including two ways of replacement: within the same area, and in different areas.



Figure 8.3 Student apartments, Yongjiang
Source: Author's field survey, 2015



Figure 8.4 High-density housing, Yongjiang

Shuangqiao (Land Site B) (Figure 8.2): villagers, migrant population

As a traditional village in the urban fringe, Shuangqiao has experienced land acquisition three times since 1986, and most of the arable and residential land was used for the university development. The only part of the village left (0.8 Km²) contains a high density of the resident population: 677 locals (355 households), over 1600 migrants (only 596 migrants registered in local VC), and 400 students (The Fifth Census, 2010; Interview, Shuangqiao VC, 2015).

The only pedestrian path in Shuangqiao connects the two major campuses where over 10,000 people pay a visit per day (Interview survey, VC), directly resulting a booming commercial street of diversified shops and stores (Figure 8.5), and providing a huge number of job opportunities, attracting around 20,000 migrants.



Figure 8.5 Diversified shops, Shuangqiao
Source: Author's field survey, 2015



Figure 8.6 The land owned by Lixia, 2015

Lixia (Land Site C) (Figure 8.2): original villagers, students

Lixia was a traditional village dependent on agriculture, until everything completely changed and all its agricultural and residential land was transformed into urban built-up lands for the NBU campus development in 1986. Then, all of the 230 landless households moved into a resettlement neighbourhood on land Site C, around 0.5 Km². There are a total of 525 residents, including around 200 non-local residents, most of whom are students (Interview survey, 2015). The local residents are still the owners of their original collective properties, including the land, the buildings, the vegetable market, and the agricultural lands (see Figure 8.6).

Wencui (Land Site D) (Figure 8.2): university staff, students

Wencui neighbourhood, as part of NBU, was originally designed for university staff apartments in 1986, with 31 buildings of six-floors. The resident population is around 500 locals and 250 migrant residents, who live in around 0.25 Km². In the 1990s, university staff were the major local residents and they were given their housing as part of the welfare system. However, as the urban real estate market developed, some original residents gradually moved out, and an increasing number of rural migrants moved in, comprising around one-third of the total resident population. Figure 8.7 shows the apartment buildings of the university staff in Wencui.



Figure 8.7 Apartments of Wencui 2015 Figure 8.8 Library buildings in NBU, 2015

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

Ningbo University (land Site E) (Figure 8.2): student community

The current land sites of Ningbo University (NBU) were the lands of Lixia and Shuangqiao village until 1986, when around 1.8 Km² was requisitioned by the local government, and then transferred to NBU for free. Today, approximately 24,000 students live in student apartment buildings on land site E. The student population size resulted in a big market based on their

daily life needs, proving plenty of business opportunities for land-lost farmers and attracting an increasing number of migrant workers. Figure 8.8 shows the current library buildings in NBU in 2015.

8.1.2 Data collection summary

Field studies were conducted twice on Yongjiang villages from 2013 to 2014, specifically field studies on Yongjiang (two villages and two neighbourhoods surrounding Ningbo University¹⁷) of the locals and the migrants in 2014 and 2015, a total of 52 out of 61 questionnaires are valid, including 12 questionnaires in Shuangqiao (locals 7, migrants 5), 13 in Yongjiang (locals 7, migrants 6), 12 in Lixia (locals 6, migrants 6), and 16 in Wencui (locals 8, migrants 8). The most difficult part of the field studies was in Shuangqiao; as it had been totally demolished in 2013, the villagers had left, and it was difficult to meet anyone. Eventually, there were 42 valid interviews: 10 interviews in Shuangqiao (locals 6, migrants 4), 11 in Yongjiang (locals 6, migrants 5), 12 in Wencui (locals 6, migrants 6), and 10 in Lixia (locals 6, migrants 4).

8.2 Residents' population structure: locals, migrants and students

To avoid duplication, the following analysis of population structure in Yongjiang will only focus on the specific features and differences from the other two cases (Shangshao and Wenchang) divided into three parts: first the general features of the population, then the student community, and the specific characteristics of each neighbourhood and village.

8.2.1 Locals, migrants and students

Besides some common features of the population structure in Yongjiang compared with the other two cases (for example, the local resident population has not changed much in terms of size but has aged; rural migrants are much younger and have a lower education level) it is also worth pointing out the differences: the large student population, and the fact that most migrants arrived in the city after 2000.

Firstly, the student population was treated as migrants in the questionnaire survey, and have some very different features from rural migrants: very young, a different gender balance (the sex ratio is around 1:1), high educational level, residential concentration and big demands of daily life, including food, entertainment, snacks, bars and sports (Questionnaire and interview survey, 2015). Secondly, the local population size has changed little over the past decades, amounting to around 1,100 households (2500 residents) in Yongjiang (VC, 2015). Thirdly, most of the migrant workers came to the urban fringe of Yongjiang only after 2000, as the

¹⁷ As I have more than six years' living experience in Yongjiang (Ningbo University) since 2003

questionnaire data showed that 53.9% of total migrants arrived in the 2000s, and 40.7% after 2010. The migrant flow happened almost a decade earlier than in downtown areas. This is because urbanisation in terms of the university town, as the major motivation attracting migrant workers, happened much earlier than in the urban fringe and suburban areas.

8.2.2 Students: the current, the graduates, the jobless

A large proportion of the student population can be divided into three types based on the interview survey. The first type is the university students who have moved out of student accommodation for a variety of reasons, including “more private space”, “lower prices” and “preparing for postgraduate entrance examinations”; because currently, four to six people are sharing one student dormitory, and the rental price is much cheaper in the village.

The second type is the graduate who has found a job but still prefers living near the campus. Simply because of many of them are from other provinces of China, they have few social connections locally, so they continue to live in a familiar environment where they can get help from college teachers and former classmates, use the sports facilities free and spend much less on daily costs than in other areas. Usually these graduates tend to prefer staying here for one or two years before really settling down.

The third type is the student who has failed or graduates who have not had a stable job yet; most have a negative attitude and “a live day-to-day existence” (Interview survey, 2015).

8.3 Employments: locals, migrant workers, graduates

8.3.1 Locals' employment: increasing, service economy, student market

As urbanisation has extended the urban fringe, the jobs of villagers have dramatically changed from agricultural to service economy over the past decades, and this trend is even more pronounced in Yongjiang as a growing student community of a university town.

Table 8.2 Jobs of locals in Yongjiang since 1980

<i>Time</i>	1980s	1990s	After 2000
<i>Employment structure</i>	In agriculture, public-owned enterprises	Agriculture disappearing, over 70% locals in service economy	Over 80% locals in service economy
<i>Source of jobs</i>	Dominated by national distribution	Friends, university, jobs market, self-hunting	Online, friends, university, self-hunting
<i>Income/month</i>	Under 100 Yuan	Over 1000 Yuan	Over 4000 Yuan
<i>Source of Income</i>	Agriculture, wages income	Small businesses and sharing of collective annual bonus	Small businesses, rent and annual bonus

Source: Based on author's field survey, 2015

Table 8.2 summarises the changes in locals' employment over the past decades based on the questionnaire survey. It shows the big changes in local villagers' employment; from 62.9% employed in agriculture in the 1980s, this fell dramatically to 8% in the 1990s, and to almost zero in the 2000s. Nowadays, only a few old villagers plant corn and potatoes in their backyard as a hobby; most villagers are running small businesses catering for the student community, for example renting, running a hotel, a supermarket or a restaurant (Figure 8.9). And the landless villagers (by land acquisitions) or jobless villagers (by the reform of collective enterprises) were mostly recruited by a Logistic Company of NBU, and typically work in the student cafeterias as waiters or in student accommodation as gatekeepers or cleaners.

As a result, the income from agriculture diminished to 0.2% of locals' income in the 2000s, while the "operational and commercial income sectors" increased to 74.2% in the 2000s (Questionnaire survey, 2015). In the 1980s, 73% of local households' income was less than 100RMB/M, changing to 57% over 4000 RMB/M in the 2000s. Specifically in Shuangqiao village, as the most active market of students in the Yongjiang area, where locals have more opportunities of running small businesses for a higher income, over 87% of local households' income was over 10,000 RMB/M in the 2010s, and 82.4% of this income is from "operational and commercial income sectors" (Questionnaire and Interview survey, 2015).

Figure 8.9 shows the commercial pedestrian street – it is the only thoroughfare connecting two major campuses, and is full of diverse shops, stores and restaurants, providing plenty of business opportunities for local villagers of Shuangqiao.



Figure 8.9 Shuangqiao commercial pedestrian street, 2013



Figure 8.10 The collective Property of Lixia, 2015

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

Figure 8.10 shows the fresh fruit stores and the student apartments – both are the collective properties of Lixia. The profits from property-related businesses would be equally distributed to each local resident in terms of an “annual bonus” (See footnote of Chapter 7); this was 4200 RMB/person in 2014 (Questionnaires and interview survey 2015).

Here is a case of how employment in a local family has changed over three decades:

Mr Wan, 59 years old, a local villager of Shuangqiao, lost his agricultural land in 1986. Then he tried to run a small restaurant, mainly for students, in 1989 and as the business rapidly grew in the late 1990s, his son also decided to join his father’s business, and opened another restaurant in 2007. Mr Wan also reformed his housing into nine different rooms as student accommodation in 2005. Nowadays, his family income is over 250,000 RMB/Y (Mr Wan, interview, 2014).

8.3.2 Migrants’ employment: Self-employment, higher income, the graduates

The growth of the student community provided plenty of job opportunities for migrants, who may have greater chances of running a small business.



Figure 8.11 Grilled corn, Street food, Shuangqiao, 2013



Figure 8.12 Sichuan style restaurant, 2015

Source: Author’s field survey, 2015

Figure 8.11 shows a 44-year-old woman from the south west of Zhejiang province. Based on her working experience at her uncle’s restaurant in Ningbo since 1994, she started her street food stall in 1998, and the grilled corn and Jiaohua chicken have proved very popular among the student community. Her husband has been working in a nearby factory for over a decade, and they can earn more than 14,000 RMB/M (Interview survey, 2013).

Migrant: Self-employment, full insurance jobs in the university

Generally, migrants’ household incomes are a bit higher, 5,100 RMB/M in 2015. Over 70% of their income is from “running a small business”, and most of them are running businesses

with a diverse range of traditional local food, such as Beijing duck, Xian hamburger, Zhejiang rice cake, Tianjin baozi, Heilongjiang Jiaozi and Nanjing noodle, simply because it requires little start-up capital and technical expertise. Moreover, some of their businesses have even upgraded to be restaurants. For example, Mr Li, originally from a very remote village of Sichuan province, came to Ningbo in 2005, and has become the owner of two restaurants by working hard, and hiring a number of friends and relatives to work as waiters and cooks (interview, 2015). Figure 8.12 (the black one) shows one of his Sichuan style food restaurants (Chuancai Fang). Gradually, Shuangqiao Snack Street became popular throughout the city, and some citizens even come over especially for dinner (Interview survey, 2013).

In addition, on the recommendation of relatives and friends, a certain number of migrant workers also achieved jobs in the university, working as cleaners, dishwashers, servants and cooks in the student cafeteria; this is a bit less income but has full insurance (five insurances) (See footnote of Chapter 7). Figure 8.13 shows the university cafeteria catering for about 10,000 students, where many migrant workers are employed.



Figure 8.13 Migrants working in university cafeteria of NBU, 2015



Figure 8.14 Mr Tang's computer repair shop, 2013

Source: Author's field survey, 2013 & 2015

The graduates: self-employment completely

Some graduates have white collar jobs in big companies, but still prefer starting their own business in their spare time, mostly e-commerce of Taobao¹⁸ selling the commodities that student customers need but are hardly able to find in nearby shops, because they believe that “they know what the student community really needs”. This part of their income has become more important, sometimes exceeding their salaried income (Interview survey, 2014 and 2015).

¹⁸ **Taobao:** Taobao is a Chinese website for online shopping similar to eBay and Amazon that is operated in China by the Alibaba Group.

Moreover, some graduates even choose self-employment completely. Figure 8.14 shows a computer shop owned by Mr Tang, who is 31 years old, from Shenyang of China, and a graduate in computer science of Ningbo Polytechnic University. He moved to Shuangqiao and opened the repair shop in 2008. Gradually his service earned a good reputation among the student community, until opening the first shop in 2011. He told me “I have almost 10000 RMB profit per month, which is very significant even compared with my classmates working in a big company, so I am very proud of my decision”. He also mentioned his original motivation for setting up this business “After I had worked for about three months in a GIS company as my first job, I found they were working very inefficiently, and even the company director’s income did not seem very attractive to me, especially when I knew he had worked for over 13 years. I decided to quit, and do my own business, simply because I know what the young people need and how to satisfy them”. He also had his future plan, “I would like to attend a higher level course in computer science, to enhance my capability, then to extend my business” (Figure 8.14) (Interview with Mr Tang, 2014 and 2015).

8.4 Residential changes: university-development-oriented

Besides the urbanisation extension in the urban fringe of Yongjiang areas after the 1980s, the development of the university town strengthened the trends of land use changes and the resettlement process.

8.4.1 Land use changes since the 1980s: from traditional to university-oriented

Nowadays, there are two villages and two neighbourhoods surrounding the university campus in Yongjiang, but this is a result of the big changes in land use that have taken place since 1985.

As the maps (Figure 8.15) show, land use changes in Yongjiang can be summarised as four phases by three rounds of land acquisition since the 1980s. Yongjiang, Lixia and Shuangqiao were the only villages until 1985 (Figure 8.15A). The local villagers had been living in traditional rural dwellings over several decades, until the first land acquisition happened in 1985:

“I still remember it was a warm afternoon in June 1985, I was in the agricultural fields nearby the river and seeing a small group of people in formal clothes, coming here from the other side of Yongjiang River in a small boat. One of the guys, who seemed to be a leader of them, asked me if I would like to be richer. I was a bit surprised and wondered who they were. Because I had no idea that he was the deputy mayor of Ningbo city at that time, and was specifically in charge of Ningbo University construction and development” (interview with Mr Zhuang, villager of Lixia, 62 years old, 2015).



Figure 8.15 (A). Yongjiang Communities before 1985

Figure 8.15 (B). Yongjiang Communities 1985-2000s



Figure 8.15 (C). Yongjiang Communities 2010s **Figure 8.15 (D). Yongjiang Communities 2016**
Source: Based on author's field survey, 2015

Actually (Figure 8.15A), this is an explicit description of the field studies for the university development in the 1980s. The whole piece of land belonging to Lixia village had been used to accommodate university buildings, infrastructures, facilities and university staff apartments (Wencui Neighbourhood). The locals' residential and rural living habits also gradually diminished as they moved into the resettlement area: Lixia neighbourhood (Figure 8.19; Figure 8.4). This is only one tenth of the original village area. Each household was given a 20 m² apartment or a refund if it was less than this size, and all of their Hukou (household registrations) also changed from rural into urban (meaning they could enjoy the same welfare system as Ningbo citizens) (Interview survey, 2015).



Figure 8.16 The student dormitory buildings were on the reserve land of Yongjiang, 2014

Figure 8.17 Shuangqiao Village's site had been demolished in 2014

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

The second round of land acquisition happened in the late 1990s, as further extension of the university development took place (Figure 8.15.B). Over 75% of lands (all farmlands) of Shuangqiao were used for developing the new NBU campus and the main campus of Ningbo Textile College. The remaining part of Shuangqiao village is stuck in the middle of the two campuses (Figure 8.15.C). In the meantime, the agricultural land of Yongjiang had been taken as the reserve lands for the future development of the university in the early 2000s. Figure 8.16 shows the student dormitory buildings that were finished on the reserve land from Yongjiang village in 2012, then the university had further extension of land use areas.

The last round of land acquisition was in 2014; the only remaining parcel of residential area in Shuangqiao was completely re-developed as part of the university. Figure 8.17 shows that the buildings of Shuangqiao village had been totally demolished in 2014 – after this, the two campuses were finally connected (Figure 8.15.D).

Overall, the land acquisition process was always motivated by university development, with the land use function changing, and new construction and infrastructure built up on these land parcels. This meant that the local rural residential housing of wooden detached houses, or two-storey masonry constructions, completely disappeared, and the living style and daily activities, including feeding chickens, planting vegetables, drying grain and storage, had gone as well. The following paragraphs describe the changes and the effects on the residential areas of locals and migrants.

8.4.2 Locals' residential: resettlement, villages, NBU staff apartments

There has been a great improvement in the dwelling conditions of all neighbourhoods and villages in the Yongjiang area over the past decades. However, the changes are very different in different residential areas. In resettlement neighbourhoods (Lixia and Shuangqiao), housing qualities are determined by the standards of the “exchange habitable area” rules respectively issued in 1985 and in 2015. In the university-staff apartments (Wencui), the buildings' qualities, forms and facilities were influenced by construction standards and budgets in different development phases of the university. In the village (Yongjiang), housing qualities were dependent on household income levels, means the richer have more capability of building better housing in terms of construction materials and standard (See example of Figure 8.20).

Resettlement of villages (Lixia and Shuangqiao): from passive to active

The quality of housing in Lixia has improved in terms of facilities, infrastructure and construction quality, since its villagers moved into the resettlement residential area in 1986. The physical changes have also influenced the social aspect, for example, family size is significantly decreasing, and more residents prefer to live alone (Table 8.3).

Table 8.3 Residential changes in Lixia since the 1980s

	Before 1986	1986 to the 1990s	2000 to present day
<i>Housing form</i>	Rural traditional housing	Six-storey apartment building	Six-storey apartment building
<i>Main body</i>	Villagers of Lixia	Villagers of Lixia	Villagers of Lixia, and migrants
<i>Household living area</i>	Mostly over 100 m ²	45% less than 75 m ² , 55% over 75 m ²	45% less than 75 m ² , 55% over 75 m ²
<i>Housing sources</i>	From senior generation	Compensation of land lost	Compensation of land lost
<i>Facilities</i>	Independent kitchen, no bathroom or drainage	Independent kitchen, bathroom, toilet and drainage	Independent kitchen, bathroom, toilet and drainage
<i>Household size</i>	84% over four people	37% less than three people	57.9% are two and less than two people, 9% are single
<i>With whom</i>	Parents, spouse, children	Children, spouse	Spouse or children

Source: Based on author's field survey, 2015

Exactly the same process is happening in Shuangqiao nowadays; residential resettlement areas are supposed to be completely finished by the end of 2017, and then all villagers will move into new housing according to the policies and agreements reached in the phase of land acquisition in 2014. However, the housing quality of the resettlement projects and the households' compensation standards are very different (for example, how much money each household may achieve from land acquisition).



Figure 8.18 Inside of an apartment, Lixia, 2015 **Figure 8.19 Roads of Lixia neighbourhood, 2015**

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

The first residential resettlement project in Yongjiang areas produced the residential neighbourhood of Lixia in 1986 (Figure 8.2 and Figure 8.15.A). Village households could register as the owner of new properties according to the policy issued in 1986 to compensate for their land lost. The key points of the policy included:

- Each adult villager (Hukou registration in Lixia village) will have 20 m² living area

- The implementation is based on the principle of “refund for any overpayment or a supplemental payment for any deficiency”
- Any male villager less than 35 years old and females less than 32 years old, can have a job opportunity in the collective company
- The rest of the villagers may have priority for working in the logistic company in NBU, such as cleaners, dormitory keepers, dishwashers, drivers, cooks, etc.
- Change rural Hukou to be urban Hukou of Ningbo (Ningbo Jiangbei District Government, 2015).

The aim of the regulation was to ensure the villagers’ rights of working and housing. Basically, villagers were quite satisfied with the changes – besides the new facilities of an independent toilet, kitchen, shower room and an independent warehouse (Figure 8.18), the ungraded infrastructure also provided convenience to residents. For example, streetlights are useful for walking at night, and there is a stable water supply for each household and a good quality road that is no longer muddy even on a day with heavy rain (Figure 8.19). Moreover, many of them may find jobs to support their family life economically as a result of being recruited by the collective enterprise and NBU.

However, they have fewer opportunities for talking, meeting and taking part in social activities than they used to in their villages, because the ways of working have changed from collective labour in agriculture to working independently in a factory. The traditional ancestral hall in the village can be seen as a public space of collective activities; its disappearance cannot be substituted in the new neighbourhood. For example, the marriage ceremony of young people in a village was usually held in the ancestral hall, and the villagers may strengthen the neighbourhood relationship by attending the preparations for the ceremony, but all the wedding ceremonies in the current Lixia neighbourhood are just held in a local restaurant, as long as it is cheap and good (Interview of Lixia old residents, 2015).

The second residential resettlement project is Shuangqiao (Figure 8.2, Land Site B). It finished the land acquisition phase in 2015, and the new resettlement residential neighbourhood is supposed to be completely finished by the end of 2017. according to the agreement reached between the village, local governments and the university. The key points of the agreement and regulations include:

- No penalty would be imposed on households with more than one building, if the extra buildings have been approved by the authorities before 2010. However, the household would be required to pay the public land use fee for the extra buildings.

- According to the ratio of one-to-one square metre, their old property is replaced by the same areas of new housing; meanwhile, households can also achieve new commercial housing by the ratio of two to one square metres.
- The implementation is based on the principle of “refund for any overpayment or a supplemental payment for any deficiency” (Ningbo Jiangbei District Government, 2015).

Actually, this regulation is the final agreement after three rounds of hard discussion and negotiation among the stakeholders of the local villagers, the VC, the university, local authorities and the developer, which in total lasted around three years before the agreement was reached. The first time, negotiations failed due to the fact that the land compensation had not been agreed by the Shuangqiao VC; the compensation increased to 700 million RMB, but the plan of housing compensation did not produce a consensus among the households. In the last round of negotiations in 2014, the land compensation rose to 900 million RMB, and in the final agreement each household was able to take ownership of residential and commercial property. Overall, the quality of housing has shown significant improvement in the resettlement process, but the details of compensation regulations are very different in terms of living areas, Hukou, employment, and specifically the negotiation process, which had a big influence on the agreement results.

In Lixia in 1986, most households had no awareness of self-interest, subjectively considering the urban Hukou was always better than the rural one, and all were subject to the arrangements made by the VC and the local authorities in the relocation process. But in the interviews, the current respondents showed some dissatisfaction based on their memories. For example, the survey of old village housing was very casual in 1984, many measurement results were filled in by the surveyors without supervision by a third party; and a number of younger villagers studying outside the village could not share in the compensations simply because their Hukou registration did not permit it (Interview with an old member of Lixia VC, 2015).

In contrast, in Shuangqiao in 2014, households had gradually acquired more initiative rights in the negotiation process, and achieved great benefits as a result. For example, through explaining to developers and governments that running small businesses had already completely replaced farming and become the crucial source of household income, villagers won the ownership of additional commercial properties (interview with Mr Zheng, 59 years old, resident of Shuangqiao, 2015).

Over the past decades, from “no awareness of self-interest” to “active participation” in the resettlement process, households secured a significant improvement in their housing quality,

as well as other benefits.

Housing quality of villages: self-improving

By providing the economic services of food, retail, sports and entertainment to satisfy the daily lives of the university student community, specifically through property-related businesses, villagers' incomes have steadily increased, and this enabled them to afford housing of better quality, newly decorated, with kitchen facilities, a toilet and bathrooms.

“My son helped me install a shower and build an independent toilet in 2003, nowadays I can have a warm shower anytime In 2006 my son also installed air conditioning for the coming summer, and I am very happy now” (Li, 79 years old, villager from Yongjiang, 2015).



Figure 8.20 New modern housing, Yongjiang, 2015



Figure 8.21 Air-conditioned housing, Yongjiang, 2015

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

Without any support of public funding and policies for improving old local housing, local villagers can only improve their properties' qualities according to their own financial levels. Figure 8.21 shows a village house of Yongjiang village where air conditioning has already been installed; a local richer household have built up a luxurious villa with a private garden and garage (Figure 8.20).

Building qualities of NBU staff apartments: improving in different development phases

Wencui is a residential community of NBU staff apartments, where building started in 1986, and housing quality significantly improved after the three development phases.

Table 8.4 Housing qualities of Wencui over past decades

	1 st phase:1986	2 nd phase: 1990s	3 rd phase: after 2000
<i>Quantity</i>	4 buildings	18 buildings	18 buildings
<i>Apartment type</i>	37 m ² /household; one bedroom, one dining room	65 m ² /household; two bedrooms, one living room	95 m ² /household; three bedrooms, one living room
<i>Facilities</i>	Public toilet; independent kitchen; no warm water	independent toilet and kitchen; no warm water	independent toilet and kitchen; warm water

Source: Based on author's field survey, 2015

In the mid-1980s, four tube-shaped buildings were established as university staff apartments (in a style very similar to the buildings of Danwei neighbourhood in Wenchang community). They comprised a very limited living area of 37 m²/household, and one public toilet shared by five families, but with each household having an independent kitchen (Table 8.4).

In the second development phase of the late 1990s, another 18 buildings were built up in order to satisfy the demand from the increasing number of university staff and their families. The new apartments had a larger living area, 65-75 m²/household with two bedrooms, one living room and a private toilet and kitchen (Figure 8.22a) Figure 8.22c shows the six-floor building that was one of the 18 buildings constructed in the late 1990s.



Source: Author's field survey, 2015

The third development phase was in the mid-2000s (Figure 8.22b), when a total of 18 buildings were finished. These had a bigger living area per household, at 90 m² to 130 m² with three bedrooms, two living rooms, a bigger balcony, and storage rooms. Figure 8.22c shows the new style building in the 2000s, and most residents are still university staff. In fact, the improvement of construction standards in the past was put into effect by the University Infrastructure Department which is in charge of university construction matters, including plans, standards, budgets, implementation and process supervision.

8.4.3 Migrants' residential: for working convenient, to be stable

Most migrants preferred living in villages (Yongjiang and Shuangqiao) rather than the residential neighbourhoods (Lixia and Wencui), because villages can provide enough housing resources at a cheaper price to satisfy the big demand of the incoming migrants.



Figure 8.23 Washing machines of Yongjiang, 2015

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

For example, the flat rent is usually 150-300 RMB/M per room in Yongjiang village, only around half the price of resettlement neighbourhoods; the number of migrants already forms roughly half the total resident population of Yongjiang, even creating a new market, for example, a laundry business. Figure 8.23 shows a group of coin-operated washing machines in Yongjiang that were installed in 2014.

Figure 8.24 shows the reformed housing (by the property owner), rented to students and migrants at the price of 260 RMB/M per room in Yongjiang.



Figure 8.24 Migrants' housing, Yongjiang village, 2015

Figure 8.25 Drying shoes in sunshine, Yongjiang, 2015

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

These rooms are of quite poor quality, cold and cheerless in winter, hot and damp in summer; so much so that sometimes they have to take all their clothes and shoes outside to dry in the sunshine (Figure 8.25). Moreover, the housing quality of migrants has improved very little, simply because housing change are always motivated by “convenient working”, or other factors such as “changing for bigger area”, and “being together with family”. In addition, most migrant workers consider their current accommodation to be a temporary living space, and saving money on accommodation is important (Interview survey, 2015).

Table 8.5 Migrant residential changes in Yongjiang

	1 st moving	2 nd moving	3 rd moving
Length of residence	23.5% within 2years, 52.5% over 3 years	18.5% within 2years, 64.5% over 3 years	3% within 2years, 79% over 3 years
Living places	Dormitory, working place, shared rent	Rent in villages nearby the working place	Rent or buy an apartment
Residential	Working place, dormitory,	Rent rooms, dormitory,	Rent rooms, working place
Living area	79.5% within 30 m ² , 1.5% over 100 m ²	71% within 30 m ² , 4.5% over 100 m ²	69.5% within 30 m ² , 4.5% over 100 m ²
Reasons of moving	86.5% for working convenience, 6.5% for a bigger living area	81% for jobs, 9% for a bigger living area	79% for job, 18.5% for a bigger living area
Facilities	No independent kitchen or bathroom	No independent kitchen, bathroom or drainage	Some independent kitchens, bathrooms, toilets and drainage
With whom	No one, friends, relatives	Spouse, children	Spouse, children, senior parents

Source: Based on author's field survey, 2015

However, the situation is changing based on the analysis in Table 8.5:

(A). Dwelling period: people tended to move less and to live longer in one place.

(B). Housing type, area and who they live with: living alone in the workplace, in a collective dormitory, changed to living with their spouse and children, and some even picked up their old parents from the village, in the rented apartment. There was also relative growth in the size of the living areas.

(C). Reasons for moving. These changed from “absolute job-related factors” to “job is important, but also need to take into account other family factors of living area and children’s education”.

As a result, their accommodation changes have made little contribution to improvements in their quality of life, but the frequency of moving is decreasing, and migrants have also started to take into consideration other factors such as their children’s education, senior parents’ health and a larger living area.

8.5 Public service and infrastructure: improved but unequal

There were few public facilities, infrastructure and leisure activities in Yongjiang until the early 1990s, and local people had no concept of “leisure life”, because everything was directed by the “agriculture-industry” and the “collective-industry” (questionnaire survey, 2014). “Visiting relatives and friends” and “watching TV at home in low season of farming”, were the most important entertainments of most villagers in the 1980s (interview survey, 2015). Increases in public facilities and infrastructure, and a rise in living standards, resulted in a higher demand for leisure activities and social activities. For example, residents may play table tennis in a community activities centre, or play badminton and go swimming in the sports centre of the university (Interview survey, 2015).

Moreover, there are different problems associated with using public facilities and engaging in social activities of different villages and neighbourhoods. In Lixia, local residents (original villagers) use public space as private space in their daily lives. In Yongjiang and Shuangqiao, there is a poor sewage system, environmental pollution, and unequal access to public resources and services by migrants and locals. In Wencui, there are few parking areas and public facilities, and the paths are too narrow. In the following section, the details of each neighbourhood and village are described.

8.5.1 Resettlement neighbourhood (Lixia): public space and private space

Understanding the public space usage would contribute to exploring the adaption of villagers’ to daily life in the resettled neighbourhood. In Lixia, as all of the villagers who were used to rural life were forced to move into the new residential neighbourhood, they started to change the public space by their intentions, based on their ways of daily life, leisure activities and working.

Public space: changed

The public space of a community is considered to be the window through which urban researchers can understand the social and residential daily life, as well as being an indicator of community change (Sun and Wang, 2002). In a traditional village, the ancestral hall, the well, the alleys and grain-sun ground can all be regarded as public space, and they all play corresponding functions in rural and agricultural life. For example, the ancestral hall of Lixia village was more than a place for worship and holding wedding celebrations; it was also an important place for public meetings, discussion and social activities, as a cultural symbol of village society (Sun and Wang, 2002). However, all of this has completely disappeared in Lixia nowadays, but their functions have partly been achieved in other forms of public facilities, such as public greens and community activity centres.

Many villagers' traditional ways of social activities have changed, including the wedding ceremony, funerals and birthdays. For example, most marriage ceremonies are held in ordinary restaurants rather than in an ancestral hall (Interview survey, 2015).

“My only son's wedding was held in a Yongjiang restaurant, it is convenient for everyone coming, only a bit more expensive than it was in our village, but you see, it will never be possible to rebuild the ancestral hall” (Li, resident of Lixia, 2015).

Besides leisure and entertainment, the Community Activities Centre (CAC) (Figure 8.26) has also been used as a site for residents' meetings.

“If we have something we need to discuss, usually we come over here to meet up in the Activities Centre, simply because we are familiar with this environment and rooms, due to coming here in our spare time almost every day, chatting, or meeting” (Gu, resident of Lixia, 2015).



Figure 8.26 CAC in Lixia, 2015

Source: Author's field survey, 2015



Figure 8.27 Rest chairs in Lixia, 2015

Public space: reformed by individuals

Typical public spaces in rural areas, such as alleys, footpaths, farmland, courtyards and grain

storage places, have completely disappeared in the current resettlement neighbourhoods, but continue to exist in a different form. After moving into Lixia three decades ago, the villagers still keep some of their rural living habits. For example, many chairs were prepared downstairs for residents to have a rest and chat (Figure 8.27), which is a very unusual phenomenon in an urban commercial-residential community.



Figure 8.28 A well, 2015



Figure 8.29 Dry seafood, clothes and beddings, 2015

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

There is tap water supplied by the water company, and residents used tap water for cooking, but they have also dug many wells for washing the dishes, because it can save household spending (Figure 8.28). Many parts of the public green have even been changed into a private vegetable garden – Figure 8.29 shows a public green being used as a place for drying seafood, clothes and bedding.



Figure 8.30(a) Planting vegetables, 2015



Figure 8.30(b) Agriculture in open space, 2015

Source: Author's field survey, 2015



Figure 8.30(c) Feeding poultry Figure 8.30(d) Private storage on roads, 2015

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

Moreover, most local residents have little concern about “public space”, and many public space are used as private storage (Interview survey, 2015). For example, residents feed poultry in the public green belts, plant vegetables on the public green by setting up a temporary fence, use the public space of roads and public greens as private storage, and completely change open spaces into private garden and farmland (Figure 8.30). They have lost the places, village land and traditional rural housing that they were used to over the decades, and have demanded new space to adapt their lifestyle, ways of working and social activities to the resettlement neighbourhood. The changes to the use of public spaces in Lixia can be considered as the expression of combination of a public and private space, and an adaptation of urban and rural space reformed by rural life values and concepts.

8.5.2 Traditional villages (Shuangqiao and Yongjiang): improved but unequal

Rural public services and infrastructure in Shuangqiao and Yongjiang villages have greatly improved since the middle 1990s. This change provided a great deal of convenience to the local residents, including parking, sports facilities, a drainage system, internet, public toilets and a village activity centre. However, the rapid growth of the migrant population size has put higher pressure on the use of infrastructure and the local ecological environment.

Infrastructure and public service: problems

There was little infrastructure in the Yongjiang area in the 1980s, no cement roads or Post Offices, frequent power cuts, no bank, no pharmacies, and only one snack store and a clinic (interview with local villagers, 2015). The change started in the middle 1990s – for example, in today's Yongjiang, there are an elementary school, a Post Office, Lixia's vegetable market, two car parks, two public toilets, four supermarkets and one store, two pharmacies, three

laundries, a clinic and an activity centre.

However, there has been less improvement in the drainage system over the past decades. For example, household refuse is randomly dumped at street corners, attracting many flies and resulting in terrible smells in summer due to the poor sanitation and inadequate drainage (Figure 8.31.a).



Figure 8.31(a) Household waste by a path, Yongjiang

Figure 8.31(b) River pollution in Yongjiang, 2015

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

Moreover, the increasing size of the migrant population has aggravated the fragile ecosystem, as they produce large amounts of rubbish that is directly discharged into streams and rivers (Figure 8.31.b). This exceeds the processing capability of the village's domestic sewage system, resulting in pollution of the corn and potato fields; therefore food security is going to be another issue for residents.

Locals and migrants: unequal

Without the local Hukou, the migrant population have less accessibility than locals to public facilities, services, education, employment training, community activities and health resources. For example, the local primary school is only completely free for local children; migrants' children can only go to school once their parents own a local Hukou qualification or meet the strict conditions: working and paying tax for 6 years in Ningbo (Interview survey, 2015). However, most migrant households cannot meet these conditions. Another example is the fact that employee training organised by the local VC is only open to locals. So most community social activities are free to local residents, although migrants can use the sports facilities in

public spaces, but they have fewer opportunities to attend local drama or to play cards in the Village Activities Centre (VAC) (Figure 8.32).



Figure 8.32(a) Yongjiang VC has built a drama stage for villagers, January 2015



Figure 8.32(b) Yongjiang village sports facilities, January 2015



Figure 8.32(c) Yongjiang VAC, 2015
Source: Author's field survey, 2015



Figure 8.32(d) Keyong Plastic LLC, 2015

Although they did not receive any discriminatory treatment in the village, there are still some obstacles facing migrants trying to join their social activities (Figure 5.25).

"I came from Anhui province and have been living in Yongjiang over nine years. I cannot understand the local accent when they are chatting. I felt so isolated that in that Activities Centre, nobody cares about me, they were just playing cards or Mahjong themselves, so I never went there again" (Mr Zhang, 69 years old, rural migrant from Anhui, 2015).

Usually, rural industry development may positively enhance its infrastructure level (as in the case of Shangshao village). However the village could already achieve enough profit from the large student community market, therefore it obviously lacked the motivation of developing a local rural industry in Yongjiang. The only few factories of the current village mostly still exist at the family-workshop level. For example, Keyong Plastic Company located in a house in Yongjiang village (Figure 8.32).

8.5.3 University staff apartments (Wencui): unequal but changing

Wencui, 0.3 Km² in extent, has a superior infrastructure and facilities through the integrated planning and high construction standards of the university's infrastructure construction department over the past decades. There is one public primary school, one kindergarten, a community service activity centre, a clinic and a guard room, one vegetable market, one car park, two bank branches, one Post Office, two supermarkets, two drugstores, and one dry cleaner (Figure 8.33). These basically meet the residents' daily living needs, basic activities, home and medical care and other needs, but resource distribution is quite unbalanced between locals and migrant workers.

Locals and migrants: unequal but changing

The differences between locals and migrants are in the extent to which they can access education, medical treatment, employment, community activities (Figure 8.33.b) and sports facilities. Without a local Hukou, migrants' children lose the right of access to local schools, and the rights to many services and policies provided by the local CC. But this has started to change in recent years, for example, the sports facilities of NBU, including the tennis courts, the horizontal bar and parallel bars, badminton (Figure 8.33.d), the sports centre, and a 210,000 m² playground, have gradually been opened up to any residents nearby (Figure 8.33).

Figure 8.33 Facilities of Wencui, 2015



Figure 8.33(a) Kindergarten, 2015



Figure 8.33(b) CAC, 2015



Figure 8.33(c) Parking in Wencui, 2015



Figure 8.33(d) Sport facilities of NBU 2014

Source: Author's field survey, 2015

In the field studies, it was found that many migrant residents were doing body exercises by using these sports facilities (Figure 8.33.d).

“Living here is very convenient, this playground is free for to use, my wife and I often come here for body exercise after dinner, which has already become part of our daily life. And we also prefer swimming in the university, because the swimming membership of NBU is much cheaper than the market price” (Dou, 57 years old, resident of Wencui Neighbourhood).

Housing and infrastructure qualities: improved differently

Infrastructure and building operation standards are different in the different development phases; in the post-planned residential area (built up in the 2000s, Figure 8.22.c) they are significantly better than the building areas of 1986, mainly in terms of parking and quality of housing. For example, the buildings finished in 1986 (Figure 8.22.a) have less internal space, and no parking space (Figure 8.33.c) so the cars park on the pavement (Interview survey, 2015).

8.6 Conclusion

As urbanisation has extended, the traditional economic, social and cultural situations of rural communities have been broken, causing dramatic changes in population structure, employment, income, housing, living habits, rural culture, infrastructure and public services. In the process of land acquisition, villages have been urbanised. This trend was evident in the case studies of Yongjiang, due to the university-town development on a large scale that brought additional urban and community changes to urban fringe areas. It was complex, because it not only needed to consider the changing social and economic features of locals and migrant workers, but also the large student community. The presence of the student community has comprehensively changed the local economic and social structure, deeply influencing the employment structure and lifestyle of the surrounding rural residents, as well as the housing and local environment.

In this chapter, based on an analysis of the details of the comprehensive changes in communities in the Yongjiang areas, from traditional villages to different kinds of neighbourhoods, including a landless village (Yongjiang, Shuangqiao), a Danwei community of NBU (Wencui) and a resettled neighbourhood (Lixia), a full picture has been drawn of the urbanisation process of traditional villages. The following chapter will contribute to the further studies of the mechanisms and motivations behind this complex phenomenon.

Part IV Discussion and Conclusion

**Chapter Nine: The mechanisms of community change: analysis and
discussion**

Community change is a complex social development phenomenon, integrating the process of construction reshaping, the restructuring of the resident population, income, housing, participation, sense of community and community administration. From the point of view of social space, community change can be understood as the interaction with the city change process at the city level, and also aspects related to the quality of daily life, the structure of income and jobs, and changes in the residents' population and housing at the neighbourhood level. From the perspective of institutional change, policy changes and economic reforms can be considered as the main driving force behind the transformation. The theoretical perspective of "participation" can be understood as the power restructuring of different stakeholders, specifically the residents involved and the community management authority. The theories of "family life cycle" provide a better angle from which to explain the social mobility process of migrant workers, why they come and which factors influence their decision to settle down or leave the cities.

On the basis of the detailed analysis of community change in the three cases of downtown, the urban fringe and the suburb, this chapter concludes the general characteristics of community changes at a city level, and focuses on the mechanisms of the changes from institutional, urbanisation and administrative models. It includes four sections:

Firstly, it summarises the category changes of the neighbourhoods in transitional China, and describes the differences and similarities between detailed features of neighbourhoods by locations and time.

Secondly, from the perspective of socio-economic institutional change and the urbanisation of the university town, it analyses the complex dynamic mechanisms of urban changes, and discusses the uniqueness of the mechanisms.

Thirdly, based on clarifying the process and features of urban and rural community administration changes, it discusses the regularity and trends of administration changes, as well as the changes of participation.

Fourthly, by mainly using "the family life cycle" theories, it summarises the social mobility of migrant workers, discussing the factors influencing the flow and trends in the cities of transitional China.

Finally, the main findings of the analysis of characteristics and the studies on the mechanisms of urban change are brought together, and concluded from four perspectives: the specific characteristics, the change in community administration models, the major differences in residential moves, and the block urbanisation of transitional China.

9.1 The characteristics of community change in transitional China

With the accelerating process of urbanisation in transitional China, the continuous influx of rural migrants has triggered dramatically urban changes at the neighbourhood level, from the traditional urban community of Danwei to the traditional agricultural-based village, gradually changing into a variety of complex communities, including commercial-residential communities, resettled neighbourhoods, declining old neighbourhood of downtown, landless villages, new villages and village-in-city.

9.11 The category change of neighbourhoods

Diversity in the form of community neighbourhoods

In urban areas, Danwei is a social unit combining a wide variety of productive, residential, social security and administrative functions. Physically, it is a closed residential community, with clear fences. It was the dominant type of urban community until the late 1990s, when it was gradually replaced by the commercial-residential community, which was developed by real estate companies and by the CC. And there are also some traditional old neighbourhoods of downtown that have been resettled to be residential neighbourhoods.

Table 9.1 The changes in downtown, the suburb and the urban fringe

Location/Time	Before 1980	1980s	1990s	2000 to today	Key Problems
Downtown communities					
Wenchang Community	Traditional neigh. (Old neigh.)	Traditional neigh. (Old neigh.)	Traditional neigh. (Old neigh.)	Traditional neigh. (Old neigh.)	Declining and poor housing.
			Resettlement Neigh. (NO. 73)	Resettlement Neigh. (NO. 73)	Residents aging
	Danwei neighbourhood	Danwei neighbourhood	Danwei neighbourhood	CRC (WCHY)	Less social
				CRC (YXSJ & XXLS)	Less social
Suburb village					
Shangshao village	Traditional village	Traditional village	Initiative industrialisation	Transformed to be a “new village”	Dissatisfied migrants
Urban fringe communities					
Yongjiang villages	Traditional village (Lixia)	Danwei neighbour. (Wencui)	Danwei neigh. (Wencui)	Danwei neigh. (Wencui)	Poor qualities of housings
	Traditional village (Lixia)	Resettlement neigh. (Lixia)	Resettlement neigh. (Lixia)	Resettlement neigh. (Lixia)	Rural culture and life Losing
	Traditional village (Shuangqiao)	Traditional village (Shuangqiao)	Landless village (Shuangqiao)	Landless village (Shuangqiao)	Waiting for resettlement
	Traditional village (Yongjiang)	Traditional village (Yongjiang)	Traditional village (Yongjiang)	Landless village (Yongjiang)	Ecological decline

Source: Based on author's field survey and case studies in Ningbo, 2015

In the urban fringe, as more rural lands are successively used for the extension of urbanisation, some landless villages turned into villages-in-city, and some changed into resettlement neighbourhoods. In the suburbs, based on the villages' land and natural resources, and by initially developing a rural industry of labour-intensive industries and standard plant workshops, a large number of villages have been transformed into villages that are no longer economically dependent on agriculture, with standard two-storey houses and an urban life style. These are known as "New Villages" (Table 9.1).

Therefore, there are in total six different types of urban and rural neighbourhoods in today's China (Table 9.1).

- (1) The traditional neighbourhood, usually located downtown, where most residents are aging locals and young migrant workers.
- (2) The resettlement neighbourhood mainly consisting of two sub-types: the urban neighbourhoods inhabited by the relations of the residents of downtown traditional neighbourhoods, and the rural neighbourhoods usually inhabited by an entire landless village.
- (3) A Danwei neighbourhood is usually established by a Danwei (state-owned enterprise) that is in charge of all kinds of service facilities and self-organisation community administration.
- (4) Commercial-residential neighbourhoods, developed by real estate companies, already accounting for the majority of today's urban China, in which properties are usually maintained by specialised property management companies.
- (5) The villages-in-city, as landless villages of cheaper housing and good locations for daily commuting, became the preferred residential place of most migrant workers.
- (6) The new village, with its own rural industrial zone, and with an urban landscape of residential constructions, public greens, infrastructure and professional property management, as well as a non-agricultural daily life style.

Community internal structure is from simple to complex

"Simple", means that the structure of the community economy, resident population, and community administration and organisation, is wholly controlled by the top-down planned system. "Complex" means this old structure has been broken, and has been developed into diversified social, economic and administrative forms, by the market-oriented system since the 1990s.

In urban Danwei communities, there are a few social groups organised by residents, and all of the local permanent residents are only required to work in the Danwei (SOE, most are in secondary industry). In rural areas, most local villagers do farm work in their fields, which were allocated by the village productive team who are mainly in charge of village land allocation and grain tax collection. So, from simple to complex, dramatic changes have

occurred, in terms of resident population structure, economic and social groups, administrative ways and social functions. These changes of rural and urban communities can be concluded as four points:

(1) Resident population structure became diversified.

Residents of urban and rural communities were mostly local long-term dwellers of the local Hukou in the 1980s, but in today's residential communities, besides the large number of migrant-worker residents and their families in both urban and rural residential communities, there are also temporary local residents, and a student and graduate population.

(2) Social groups and self-organised groups are growing.

Besides the Community Committee, an increasing number of social groups and NGOs are emerging inside urban and rural communities, as self-organised groups mainly representing local community residents' interests. These include CRC, SWCC, CPC, OC, and social activity teams of singing and dancing. They may also provide plenty of opportunities for participation in community governance and planning, and playing a crucial role in protecting disadvantaged groups.

(3) Community economic structure has been complex.

As the Danwei system declined in the 1990s, the SOEs withdrew from their dominant role in urban communities, and were replaced by diverse ownership economic enterprises, and gradually the service economy became prosperous in the market-oriented system. In addition, within some declining old neighbourhoods of downtown, a new economic balance was achieved by increasing property-related income (the local elderly residents rent housing to migrant workers). Moreover, most rural communities also have already completely transformed to a non-agricultural economy. In the suburbs, second industry has been the dominant sector of village economy, through initiatives developing industry zones in the 1990s; and in the urban fringe, villagers have also significantly increased their income by providing services (for example, accommodation, food and entertainment) to the large community of students and migrants.

(4) Cooperative administration has provided an increasingly better service

In urban commercial-residential communities, the link between governments and residents has been greatly strengthened. In the case of Wenchang, sub-district-level government and diverse social groups can, through the CC, have many indirect and direct opportunities to communicate and cooperate in administration, finance, civil affairs, science, education and welfare applications. The cooperation of property management companies and OC have realised the efficient and effective management of public services, and the security and maintenance of properties.

In the rural communities, the VC cooperated with property management companies, providing the maintenance of village infrastructure, facilities and housing, and creating plenty of job opportunities by hiring locals, giving priority to disadvantaged people.

9.1.2 The main characteristics of the changes

Table 9.2 The changes in neighbourhoods (L: Locals; M: Migrant workers)

	Population	Income and jobs	Residential	Public services
Downtown communities (Wenchang)				
Traditional neigh. (Old neigh.)	L: Aging of local population M: Population size rapidly growing since late 1990s, up to half of the total	L: Jobs from Danwei changed to multiple ownership companies M: Working in service economy of low income, high pressure	L: Housing quality declining, without independent kitchen or toilet M: Poor-quality housings, no kitchen or toilet	Hugely increase in social activities, public service and infrastructure, but little involvement of migrants
Resettlement Neigh. (No. 73)	L: Aging of local population M: There are some, but not many	L: Jobs from Danwei changed to multiple ownership companies M: As domestic helpers, cleaners; low income, less work insurance	L: Relatively improved but less maintained since 1990 M: Sharing with the old locals	Huge increase in social activities, public service and infrastructure, but less including migrants
First group commercial neigh. (WCHY)	L: Aging of local population M: There are some	L: Jobs are from Danwei changed to multiple ownership companies M: As domestic helpers, cleaners; low income, less work insurance	L: Housing quality improved, from tube-shaped to triple-roomed apartments M: Sharing with the old or living in underground garage	Huge increase in social activities, public service and infrastructure, but less including migrants
Commercial neigh. (YXSJ & XXLS)	L: Most households are local middle class M: Very few	L: Jobs from Danwei changed to multiple ownership companies M: As domestic helpers, cleaners; low income, less work insurance	L: Housing quality improved, from tube-shaped to triple-roomed apartments M: sharing with the old or living in underground garage	Huge increase in social activities, public service and infrastructure, but less including migrants
Suburb village (Shangshao)				
Initial urbanised village by industrialisation (Shangshao)	L: Aging of local population M: Younger and population size rapidly growing since late 2000s	L: Little in agricultural, some are running small businesses and renting housing to migrants M: Hard working in service industry, low income	L: Housing quality improved hugely, from traditional single-storey to two-storey house M: Renting in good quality housing	Huge increase in social activities, public service and infrastructure, but less including migrants
Urban fringe communities (Yongjiang)				
Danwei neigh. (Wenzhui)	L: College staff, families M: University student community since late 2000s	L: Salary as college teachers with full insurances and welfare M: Hard working in service industry, low income	L: Housing quality improved, from tube-shaped to triple-roomed apartments M: renting with independent toilet but small rooms	Growth of social activities, public service & infrastructure, but excluding migrants
Resettlement neigh. (Lixia)	L: Original villagers of Lixia M: They have coming since late 2000s	L: Salary, running small businesses and renting M: Hard working in service industry, low income	L: Relatively improved but less maintained M: Renting with independent toilet but small rooms	Growth of social activities, public service & infrastructure, but excluding migrants
Total Landless village (Shuangqiao)	L: Most are the original villagers M: University students have been the main body since late 2000s	L: Most running small businesses, property-related M: Hard working in service industry, low income	L: Relatively improved by self-changing M: Renting with independent toilet but small rooms	Growth of social activities, public service & infrastructure, but excluding migrants
Landless village (Yongjiang)	L: Most are the original villagers YJ M: Most are Students since late 2000s	L: Most running small businesses, property-related M: Hard working in service industry, low income	L: Relatively improved by self-changing M: Renting with independent toilet but small rooms	Growth of social activities, public service & infrastructure, but excluding migrants

Source: Based on author's field survey and case studies in Ningbo, 2015

According to the analysis of Chapters 6, 7 and 8, Table 9.2 briefly shows the changes of neighbourhoods in terms of population structure, jobs, income, living and public services (Table 9.2). The changes can be included as four characteristics in the following:

Employment structure experiences a huge change and the income gap is widening

Since the planned economic system change to the marketing system in the 1980s, overall income levels have significantly increased, the source of jobs has changed from “government distribution” to “market-oriented”, and rural residents also have gradually left agriculture for service and secondary industries.

In urban communities, a wider range of employment opportunities opened up, including state-run, private, joint-venture and self-help enterprises, causing career choices to become more open and free. In rural communities, the agricultural income dropped to negligible, but household income significantly increased. Based on the advantages of land, geography and the policies of “new village”, and through establishing an industrial park to actively attract investment, a substantial increase in village household revenue was achieved in suburban rural communities. In addition, the landless rural communities of the urban fringe, besides obtaining substantial compensation or resettlement due to land acquisition since the early 1990s, obtained a more significant income, by catering to the service market of the large population of students and migrant workers. For example, they opened hotels, supermarkets, hairdressers, fruit shops and restaurants, or rented out housing.

Moreover, migrant workers’ employment has very different characteristics. Most migrant workers of rural communities are engaged in labour-intensive manufacturing industries and construction industries, and most migrants of urban communities are occupied in the service industry. Usually they work hard for long periods but with less security of the “five one insurance fund”, only by frequently changing jobs is to avoid unemployment, because they mostly work as temporary workers, directly influenced by market fluctuations. Their career expectations can be generally considered as two main types: the first one is to have a guaranteed job with better welfare (with a formal work contract), for example, as cleaners of property management companies, or as workers in an assembly line of the large manufacturing companies. The second tendency is to run a small business, since they believe it can accumulate more income in a short time. However, few migrants can own small businesses, and the majority are engaged in the service industry, labour-intensive industries and the construction industries.

However, the income gap is widening among residential communities. Most residents of commercial-residential neighbourhoods of downtown have incomes more than 50% higher than those living in traditional neighbourhoods (Questionnaire survey, 2015). The urban-rural income discrepancies are also widening, with the ratio of urban and rural incomes rising from

1.3 in 1985 to around 2.0 in 2010 (National 6th Census data, 2013). And this difference is even more evident among locals and migrant workers, not only because of the migrants' lower access to better jobs due to their less-educated background or lower skill levels, but also because they have less chance of attending skill training groups. In contrast to the migrants, less-educated locals, even those with disabilities and retired, can still achieve some income from the public sources of pension, insurance and property-related income.

Locals are aging, migrant workers are increasing rapidly

The local residents of Ningbo are significantly aging (See the details in Chapters 6, 7 and 8) and this trend has strengthened in recent years (Table 9.3). The portion of the population aged over 60 years old reached 13.26% in 2010, and this trend has had a comprehensive and profound influence on family nursing, forms of recreation and leisure activities, infrastructure usage, public services, and health care.

Table 9.3 The elderly local population of Ningbo since 1990

	Over 60 years old	Over 65 years old	Over 80 years old
1990	7.79	6.81%	0.96%
2000	10.43%	8.67%	1.23%
2010	13.26%	11.57%	2.61%
2014	14.49%	13.29%	2.97%

Source: Ningbo Population and Family Planning Commission (<http://www.nbjsw.gov.cn/2015>)

Specifically in most old residential communities of downtown and the suburbs, the trend is rather evident – for example, the proportion of old population of Wenchang is 30% higher than the average level of Ningbo city; but in most commercial-residential communities (where the housing only the high-income younger families can be affordable), then the number is significantly lower than the city average (Questionnaires and interview survey, 2015)

However, migrant populations are much younger and are growing rapidly. The total population size of Ningbo was 7.6 million in 2010, and with an increase rate of 2.46%, it had grown by 1.64 million since 2000. However, only 0.33 million are the local population, which means that 79.8% of this population growth comes from migrant workers (National 6th Census, 2015). In reality, over half of the total residents in many residential communities are migrant workers, but most of them have not registered as temporary residents in local authorities unless they have had to. This means that the real number of migrants in the city must be much bigger than that the official statistics of the census show.

Secondly, migrant populations are evidently younger than the local population average level –

65.59% of migrants are between 18 and 59 years. They usually bring their children to share their urban life, as the census showed that the migrant children population aged 0-9 years rose from 6.02% in 2000 to 7.29% in 2010, up by 12,700 (Ningbo census, 2014).

Finally, the most attractive residential areas for migrant workers have been changing over time. As the urbanisation and marketing economy started downtown, attracting a large number of the migrant population flow in the early 1990s, this population flowed into the urban fringe and suburb areas as urbanisation extended and labour-intensive industry developed in the late 1990s.

Residential differences

As the national resources allocation system changed to a marketing-oriented system in the 1990s, a huge number of real estate projects were finished in a short time. Residential quality has significantly improved, in terms of room space, facilities, and residential community environment. And the change of the housing allocation system also means, instead of enjoying the benefit of welfare by the arrangement of the Danwei system, residents have become customers whose decisions are based on the factors of household income level, housing location, surrounding facilities, transportation, and children's education. Then, besides the different factors, the family income level directly causes the different affordability of housing.

The higher-income families usually prefer to settle down in new commercial-residential areas, close to high-quality education and medical resources, with a better living environment, infrastructure and public services, such as the commercial-residential neighbourhoods of WCHY, XXLS and YXSJ of Wenchang in Ningbo. The poor families have less choice of where to live. Most of them either live in declining old neighbourhoods or in non-upgraded resettlement neighbourhoods (for example, No. 73 Neighbourhood). Here they lack the basic facilities of a warm water supply and drainage systems, sanitation systems and heating systems. As the increasing numbers of migrant workers move in, this causes greater pressure on local infrastructure and public facilities, as well as new problems of security, health and poverty.

The socially disadvantaged group (migrant workers) are in an absolutely weak position regarding the resource allocation of housing, infrastructure, public service and social activities. Many of them live in declining old neighbourhoods of downtown, and the landless villages; some of them even live in warehouses and workplaces.

A sense of community declining

The comprehensive and profound changes of communities and neighbourhoods have had a

great impact on the self-identity of all kinds of neighbourhoods. From Danwei to commercial-residential neighbourhoods in urban areas, it is a change to a “stranger neighbour”. Residents were the employees of the local Danwei, and gradually accumulated a strong sense of Danwei community based on their common living, working and social conditions, as well as their similar backgrounds of education, age, values and families. They were therefore called a “Danwei person”, meaning a person belonging to this Danwei. However, this completely changed from the late 1990s when the people as customers were able to buy any properties in the housing market; they became stranger neighbours, with very little common experience of social and working, indifferent to each other, with social cohesion diminishing sharply.

In the rural communities of the urban fringe and the suburb, the traditional villages turned into “new villages” and resettlement neighbourhoods. Peasants left farming and the familiar environment, as well as their ways of working and living. This transition of localism to modernity had a deep impact on their traditional values, in some cases causing anxiety and panic to villagers who were less well-adapted to the new residential areas. Most migrant workers who came and lived in cities were required to adapt to the new working and living environment as soon as possible, which they had never experienced before. The middle-aged and the older migrants have little urban self-identity, because they mostly still prefer to return to their home village when they retire. However, the young who grew up in the cities, without any rural living experience, have a strong and increasing sense of identity of urban life.

9.2 Mechanisms analysis

9.2.1 The institutional changes

Institutional changes triggered many new factors and mechanisms in terms of rural labour and agricultural productivity, urban industry restructuring, land use and the housing market, as well as urbanisation. These all directly or indirectly bring about community changes in a variety of ways.

Before the 1990s: the Danwei system

Danwei, as a social unit and residential entity, had been in charge of all welfare components under the Hukou system in urban residential communities until the 1990s (Guo, 1998). It was not only a residential community, but it was also in charge of running the SOEs, the management of the community, policy implementation, and the welfare resources allocation at a community level. To be an independent economic, social and administrative system, each community was isolated and gated to others, providing similar functions in terms of working, living and social interactions.

The only difference among Danwei communities is the ranking position of its state-owned enterprise in the national economic planning and distribution system, determining the size of residential areas, the different qualities of housings and the allocation of public resources. That is to say a large-scale and high-ranking national system enterprise can usually afford to build higher quality residential buildings and better welfare benefits (Wu, 2002). For example, Sinopec Zhenhai Refining & Chemical Company is a larger SOE, and it has high-quality residential areas, surrounding rich public greens, and plenty of sports facilities (Fieldwork survey in Zhenhai of Ningbo, 2014).

However, the lower ranking and smaller sized Danweis (SOEs) are less able to build new residential areas, therefore their employees may only live in poor-quality housing. For example, residents of the Danwei of Ningbo No.2 Machine Company lived in tube-shaped apartments with a per capita living area of less than 8 m² or they usually build up the residential areas in the urban fringe and suburbs for cheaper lands. For example, “Hongmei Workers’ Village”, “Hongmei 2nd Workers’ Village”, “Kongpu Workers’ Village” and “Kongpu 2nd Workers’ Village” are typical Danwei neighbourhoods with the name of the “workers’ village” (Fieldwork survey in Jiangbei of Ningbo, 2015).

Basically, the Danwei system strictly limited the population flow, because all of the social affairs, including working, living and pensions, are under the administration of two institutions derived from Danwei: the “working unit” and the “local organisation of grass roots government”. The former is a personnel organisation in charge of everything related to the employed and retired officers, and the public organisations and SOEs where they work. The latter is a social department of government, mainly providing help and assistance to the unemployed and the retirees. This means that the majority of urban residents have been covered in this system, because there were fewer migrant workers before the early 1990s (Hua, 2000). Residents were gated within the limited and isolated units, until the late 1990s.

Reform in the 1990s: the rural RCRS and the urban SOEs

The implementation of a Rural Contract Responsibility System (RCRS) in rural areas created huge agricultural surpluses, releasing a large amount of labour from agriculture, which flowed into industrial development. However, the real driving force for a large number of rural workers migrating to urban areas was from urban industry restructuring by urban SOEs reform.

"abandon only trying to develop capital-intensive industries, but depending on the particular resources endowment characteristics of China, an abundance of cheap labour and land resources, to adjust industrial structure, change the further development to labour-intensive industries, in order to truly expand non-agricultural employment and industrial population proportion "(Lin, 2002).

However, this ideology of top-down policies (attracting rural labour) has not been fully accepted by most urban municipalities, because the arrival of a rural labour force put pressure on governmental public finance and infrastructure services (Wei & Yan, 2006). As the development of export-oriented labour-intensive industries became popular, particularly in the Yangtze River Delta in the late 1990s, this created a large number of employment opportunities, which attracted a large amount of rural surplus labour from less-developed areas and provinces.

Especially in the urban fringe and the suburbs, as the frontline of urbanisation and industrialisation, there were plenty of job opportunities in urban construction and infrastructure development. Many other villages with a good location and land resources started developing industrial zones, attracting a number of enterprises, and also recruiting an increasing number of migrant workers, who may prefer to live in the long term locally due to the cheaper housing in the surrounding villages.

In addition, as a rigid economic system caused benefits to decline significantly in the early 1990s, the top-down reform of SOEs (mostly located in urban areas and downtown) stopped the trend, and forced these SOEs to be eliminated or move out of urban areas. This directly resulted in a large amount of unemployment in the mid-1990s, but the economic gap was rapidly filled by private and joint-venture enterprises, attracting the large number of laid-off workers (Lin, 2002). The collapse of Danwei communities also provided many pieces of land for the rapid growth of the tertiary industry of downtown, creating many low-end social services and informal economic opportunities for rural migrants. These migrants also had many choices of accommodation nearby, because of the cheaper housing provided by the old traditional neighbourhoods. Gradually the duality of the social and economic characteristics between locals and migrants became clear, in terms of living qualities, age structure, employment and public facilities usage.

2000s: land capitalisation and housing privation

To promote market-oriented reform, the two policies "Public ownership as the mainstay of a mixed ownership economy" and "Build a community market economic system", were successively issued by central government and the CPC congress in 1987 and 1992. It officially broke the top-down planned-economy system, allowing the private and foreign economy to develop. Moreover, it also laid the foundation of land and housing capitalisation, which had been realised by the policies implementation of the State Council's 15th file "Strengthening land asset management notice" in 2001 and the Ministry of Land and Resources Order No. 11 file "Rule of selling state-owned land use rights" in 2002.

With the formation of the housing market and land functional replacement in the early 2000s, the free lands of Danwei communities were thrown to the land market. The projects of old neighbourhood regeneration and new commercial-residential building by developers became

the main driving force of traditional community change. The economic rationality and social flow (free moving) gradually broke the collective emotional ties and identity of traditional communities, including the traditional neighbourhood of downtown, Danwei communities and traditional villages (Wang, 2000). More specifically, under the land market system, the downtown, as one of the most expensive land areas where most traditional neighbourhoods and Danwei residential areas were located, were usually demolished and rebuilt as commercial-residential buildings by developers. The original residents left and old neighbourhoods disappeared. After experiencing the successive land acquisitions over the past years, the villagers of the urban fringe lost farmlands and had to change and adapt to the new commercial environment (surrounded by urbanisation). Others completely lost all their lands and were required to move into the new resettlement residential areas, also facing the problems of life style adaptation.

Therefore, compensation for the use of land reform, and land resources, can be configured to maximise efficiency; this has been the power of community change since the early 2000s. Another result is that residential housings are more dominated by household income levels than any other factors. Individuals were able to move to any residential communities based on the family income and individual spatial preference, in complete contrast to the situation in Danwei where all the residents had no say in where they lived and worked (Hua, 2000). However, as disadvantaged groups, migrant workers' choices are very limited, and are confined to the old traditional neighbourhoods and the village-in-the-city in the urban fringe, where they are very crowded in less than 5 square metres per capita (Interview survey, 2015).

9.2.2 Urbanisation of a university town in the urban fringe

Against the background of the enrolment expansion of universities, and in response to the central government's strategy of "revitalisation of the country thorough science and technology", many local governments issued policies of "university town" for rapid urbanisation, promoting the local education and social economy (Wu, 2006). China's university towns are usually astonishingly large in terms of population size and physical extent. One example is Nanjing Xianlin University Town, built from 2002 onwards, consisting of 12 colleges and universities of over 70 K m², where the full-time students are already over 300,000 (Zhang, 2006).

The development of university towns has had a profound influence on urbanisation and surrounding areas economically and socially, as can be found from the case studies of the changes of Jiangbei University Town and surrounding villages since 1980 (Yongjiang of the urban fringe). It has five universities, with a student population of 90,000, and development on this scale acted like a huge magnet, attracting a steady stream of everything, including labour, land and natural resources. They contributed to the continuous growth and expansion of the university town, but brought a huge change to the local villages and communities.

With regard to the opportunities, local villagers adapted to this change and found that it provided opportunities to enhance their living quality and income level. Many landless peasants were employed in the logistics sectors of the colleges, working in the cafeteria, car parks, cleaning and repairs. Others started running their own businesses to cater to the student market, such as a store, a supermarket, a fruit shop, a drink bar or restaurant, especially renting accommodation to students and migrants to achieve a stable income. Regarding the challenges, the arrival of a large number of migrant workers put a great deal of pressure on the village sewer system, ecosystem, river water quality and the natural environment. For the households in the queue of moving into new resettled neighbourhoods, leaving farmlands and the rural places where they had lived for generations, this meant the loss of a rural community and agricultural culture.

In the un-stoppable trend of urbanisation extension, landless villages were forced to be transformed into villages-in-city, resettled neighbourhoods, and landless villages, relying on a non-agricultural economy. And the urban fringe areas became the most mixed residential areas of locals, migrant workers, villagers and students, experiencing the complex life of social interactions, working and living.

9.2.3 Discussion of the institutional changes: the “dual-track approach”

Generally, institutional changes of transitional China can be considered a process of releasing the market power without reducing too much governmental administration. This is a dual-track of China, meaning the coexistence of government and market-oriented elements.

On the one hand, market factors have become more prominent, with the government emphasising them in the official document of "The leading role of the market in resource allocation" (Yan, 2006). The capitalisation of lands maximised the land use efficiency, but caused the decline of rural communities and traditional agricultural culture; the privatisation of housings significantly improved the residential qualities, and created plenty of companies that contributed to the urban economic development. However, this caused residential differentiation, with the higher qualities of residential areas tending to be for richer families (Wei and Yan, 2006). Gradually, under the mechanism of market dominance, families of different income levels have become limited to living in very different residential communities. On the other hand, the government withdrew from residential buildings and community administration as the Danwei system declined in the 1990s, but the government still plays a very important role in the balance of allocation of housing resources and infrastructure.

The capital (the developers) usually flow into high-profit projects rather than building for lower-income households and resettled neighbourhoods of rural areas, for instance, the declining old neighbourhoods, unimproved resettlement neighbourhoods and villages-in-city. Residential differentiation has become an inevitable trend in current China, as the logical

outcome of commercial-residential buildings development (Lv, 2004). In the end, some rich families live in gated neighbourhoods, segregated and excluded from others (Li, 2004). By considering these problems of today's China, government regulators and planners have started a number of measures and approaches to mediate these contradictions. For example, in Wenchang community, the old neighbourhood of downtown had been evaluated three times by planners of the planning bureau, to produce the full details of the regeneration plan before 2016 (Field studies survey in Wenchang of Ningbo, 2015). The resettlement neighbourhoods for local landless households in Shuangqiao village are supposed to be finished by the local district-level government in 2017 (Field studies survey in Shuangqiao of Ningbo, 2015) and the infrastructure of Yongjiang village has also been upgraded since 2007 (Interview with Civil Affairs department of Jiangbei district government, 2015).

The change to a market-oriented economy in transitional China has made huge progress in terms of housing qualities, land use efficiency and living environment in the past three decades. However, it has hardly touched on the social problems but created new ones. In this sense, keeping the mechanism of government balance would be beneficial to a harmonious and equitable development of different social groups. Then, the continuous institutional change of transitional China had been the mechanisms and motivation of urban development and community changes since the 1980s. This does not mean absolutely giving way to the market system, but being a dual-track model of cooperation between government and market power.

9.3 Administrative changes, mechanisms and participation

From the Danwei system to the Community Committee of urban communities, and from the People's Commune System to the Village Committee of rural communities, both changes in community administration can be described as the process of power shifting from government to the communities of residents.

9.3.1 Urban community administrative changes and mechanisms

Community administration is a comprehensive process of a public service development and planning process by government, community organisations and residents (Wei, 2003). In the transitional urban China of Ningbo, the changes can be summarised as three phases:

1st Phase (before 1998) was a manage-oriented, top-down style, where everything concerned with working, living and social affairs were manipulated by the government through the Danwei system. The 2nd Phase (1998-2007) was the cooperative style of top-down and bottom-up, simply meaning the grassroots government organisations started cooperating with CC (residents' self-governance organisations), while the groups CPC and CRC representing residents' interests were born. The 3rd phase (2007-today) is a bottom-up self-governance style. The CC, together with CPC, CRC, OC, and NOGs, became the main body of administration, and SWCC brought professional social service to the community.

Table 9.4 Urban community administrative model changes in transitional China

<i>Phases</i>	1st Phase (before 1998)	2nd Phase (1998-2007)	3rd Phase (2007-today)
<i>Main characteristics</i>	Manage-oriented	Cooperative	Self-governance
<i>Administrative body</i>	Government and SOEs	CC, CRC, Governments	CC, SWCC, CRC, Governments
<i>Sharing power</i>	Danwei (SOEs)	CC, CRC, CPC, governments	CC, SWCC, NGOs, CRC, CPC, OC, governments
<i>Organisation form</i>	Danwei	Community management	Self-governance
<i>Ways of using power</i>	Top-down, governmental manipulation, Danwei management	Top-down and bottom-up cooperation of CC and grassroots governments	Self-governance, by bottom-up cooperation of CC, SWCC, NOGS, CRC, CPC, OC
<i>Participation</i>	Manipulation through Danwei of government	Started paying attention to participation	Diverse participation by social groups and NGOs
<i>Relations</i>	Big government, small society	Cooperation of government and society	Society is growing bigger, with government supporting

Source: Based on author's field survey and case studies, 2015

Table 9.4 describes the changes in the three phases in terms of their main characteristics, administrative body, sharing power, organisation forms, ways of using power, participation and relations of society and government. Essentially, the model changes can be considered as a gradual process of shifting power from government to residents. In this process, the administrative focus changed from Danwei and government to the CC and the very diverse self-organisations and social groups representing different stakeholders. The governments have gradually withdrawn behind the scene, to be a supporter for developing these bottom-up groups. Residents and diverse stakeholders have more participation in a growing society.

The fundamental difference between Danwei and Community Committee

From Danwei manipulation to the administration of CC, Table 9.5 describes the differences in terms of background, characteristics, operating capability, pattern and other stakeholders.

Table 9.5 The differences of Danwei and CC administrative

<i>Types</i>	Danwei Community	Community Committee Administrative
<i>Periods</i>	The main type of urban communities before 1998	Became the main type of urban community since 1998
<i>Background</i>	Planned-economy system	Market economy system
<i>Characteristics</i>	Heavy constraints in administration and economy	Social interaction and personal relationships
<i>Operating capability</i>	Manipulate	Mediate and balance
<i>Pattern</i>	Totally top-down	Bottom-up combined with top-down
<i>Other stakeholders</i>	Single	Multiple

Source: Based on author's field survey and case studies, 2015

Danwei is a community-level administrative system built up in the socialist planned-economy system, with a very strong control capability in politics, economy and social management. The managers of this system, with an absolute power to manipulate the subordinate, can achieve the effective management of living and working by resource allocation (Xie, 2002). Danwei are described as “Power-containers” by Giddens (1990) that can supervise the effective integration of social resources. In practice, the SOEs were the implemented entity of administration of the Danwei system, in charge of the community administration of daily life, work, housing, social activities, birth registers, pensions, jobs and funerals (interview survey, 2015).

In the residential communities of CC administration, there was no organisation as overwhelmingly dominant as in Danwei, but a number of diverse and independent organisations and social groups emerged, representing different stakeholders who had very different ideas about community governance (Nan, 2001; Guo, 2003). Government needs to practice community administration and guidance through sub-districts to community level systems. The CC pays more attention to mediating different stakeholders’ interests in order to balance the development of community; SWCC provides a professional service, and is a resource pool of economics and power, interested in individual promotion and increasing income; OC tried to protect their properties, and to supervise the working of property management companies. All of these analyses can be found in the case studies on Wenchang in Chapter 6.

Overall, Danwei was a totally top-down administrative system, with a strong manipulative capability of managing the residents’ life, work and housing (Xie, 2002). However, the implementation of CC in today’s communities was based on the consideration that the community is a complex system of power games (Gui & Cui, 2000). This means that diverse stakeholders are actively participating in community development and administration, but CC is one of the key implementers of mediating the conflicts, balancing the power and sharing the benefits to the disadvantaged groups.

Driving forces of administration change: government, community and market power

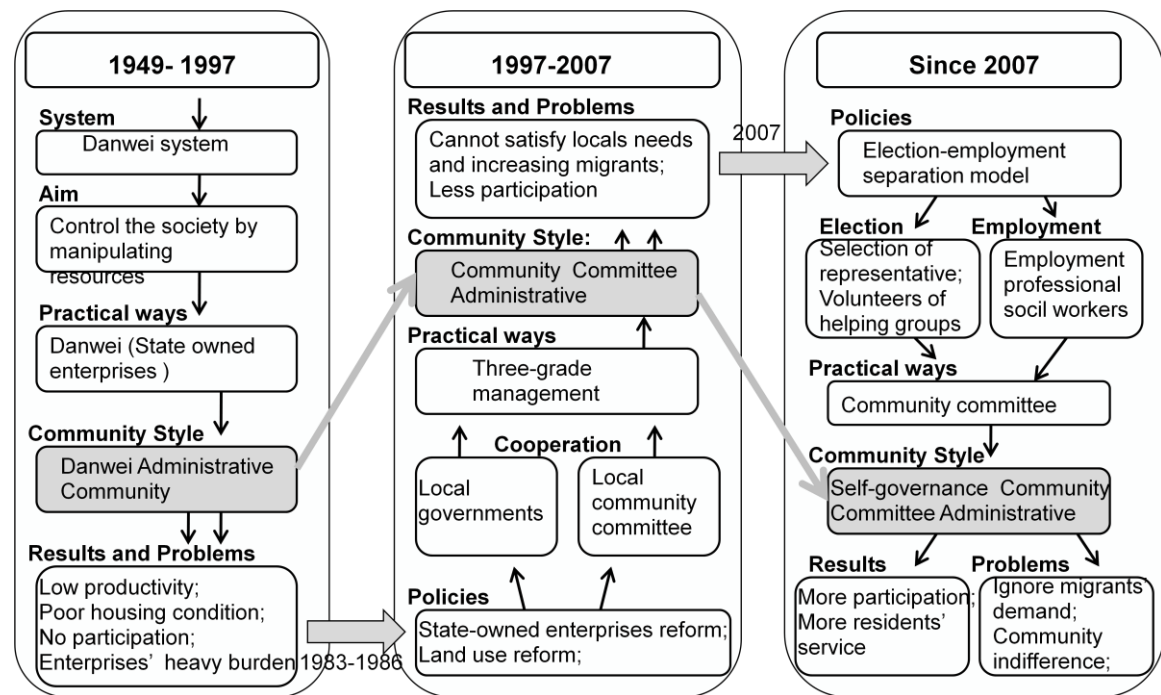
Generally, the change trend of administration style is determined by the different characteristics of the two major driving participants (Figure 9.1).

One is “government”, which can give full play to the advantage of administrating organisations and resources efficiently in terms of regulations and legislation. However, they are less able to understand the diverse needs at an individual level, to allocate resources efficiently, and to guide residents’ participation.

The other one is “community”, as Danwei handed over the responsibilities and power to the

CC, and other diverse self-organisations and NGOs since the late 1990s. Residents' participation has been the mainstream in community development and planning. With the complex social and economic situation in today's communities, and the changing and very diverse demands of residents and migrant workers, only by genuine extensive and in-depth participation can resource allocation become really efficient, matching the diverse needs of the residents. This complex situation of many different stakeholders requires the authorised organisations to mediate their interests – the above analysis of Wenchang demonstrated that the director of the CC played a key role of the adjustment and balance of interests.

Figure 9.1 Urban community administrative model changes in transitional China



Source: Based on author's field survey and case studies, 2015

Therefore, the changes of community administration are the process of power shifting from government to society and residents. The all-round government with absolute power, manipulating everything economic and social, has been transformed to the role of the coordination of social affairs. In the meantime, diverse social groups and NGOs were empowered in community administration and management, in order to maximise the interests of diverse stakeholders. In this sense, residents have grown to be the un-ignored power involved in community development.

The market power

More importantly, the changes in community administration can also be understood as the participation of the "marketing economy power" in community development. Firstly, the reform of SOEs played a key role in the decline of the Dawnei administration style in the

1990s, and this reform was implemented by two policies.

One of the policies issued by central government, "CPC Central Committee on the establishment of the socialist market economic system, a number of issues" was passed by the Third Plenary Session of the CPC congress in November 1993 (China government, 2011). It indicated that the reform of SOEs established a modern enterprise system based on the principles of "respect the market rule, to enhance productivity and to separate the enterprise and governmental administrative" (Hao, 2002). Then a large number of inefficient and lower-income SOEs were eliminated, and the remaining SOEs only needed to focus on production, stripping them of all the responsibilities and duties of community administration, social and public service, including housing, education, recreation, welfare and public services. Finally, the SOEs escaped the binding of the Danwei system, with a big reduction of human resources management, financial burden and administration cost.

The other policy is "Suppress the second industry and develop the third industry" published by General Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China in 2001. The aim is to adjust urban land use structure from industrial to residential and service economy, causing the majority of SOEs (most are manufacturing factories) to gradually migrate to the suburb areas. As mentioned above, SOEs were the foundation of the Danwei system, therefore SOEs leaving further fundamentally destroyed the administration of Danwei.

Therefore, with the decline of Danwei through the reform of SOEs, a new system was required to fill the gap of community administration, meaning the time was ripe for the Community Committee administrative model.

Secondly, the new term "State Land Use Right" was added to the constitution of China in 1988 (Wang and Wang, 2002), which grants the local governments the right of paid land transfer, meaning the land capitalisation from "free-land allocation" to "compensated use of land" in the early 1990s (Hao, 2002). This transformed the developers into a marketing force, participating in community construction and property management, and cultivating the growth of Owner Committees of property owners (local households) and professional property management companies. These all became crucial participants of the community administration of the second and third phases.

These social affairs and responsibilities, and the administrative rights of the Danwei system had been stripped from SOEs by bringing in the market mechanisms, and gradually it had developed into a self-governance community administrative model, respecting the unique characteristics of government and the community of residents.

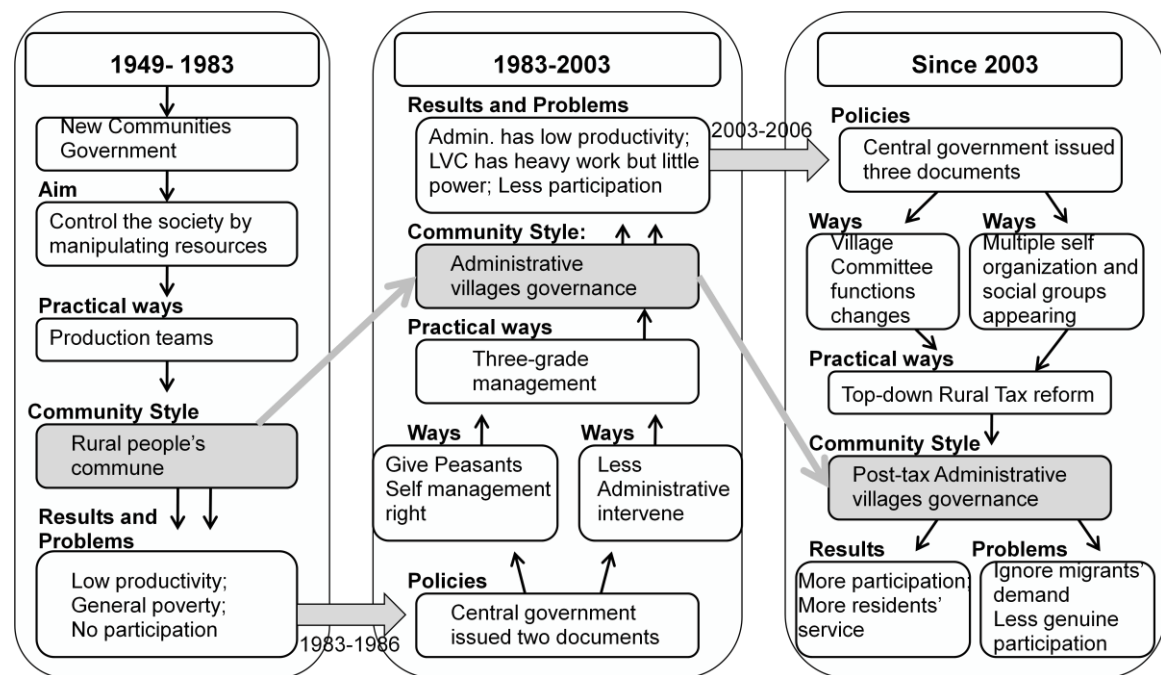
9.3.2 Rural community administrative changes and mechanisms

The changes of administrative styles of rural communities (villages) can be concluded as three main phases (Figure 9.2): People's Commune System (until 1983), Village Committee (from 1983-2003) and Village Committee of post-agricultural tax (from 2003 to today). And all the change details of village administration have been analysed by the case studies on Shangshao village of Chapter 7. Figure 9.2 is the summary of the change process, including the periods, aim, practical ways, community style, results and problems, and the following focus on how these changes happened.

Family patriarch (squire)

In traditional rural China, as an agricultural cultural society, villages had existed for a thousand years (He, 2007). Many kinds of social and family relations, local clan and feudal ethical codes culturally constrained individual behaviours and daily life, and are the foundation of rural society administration. Based on blood relationships and the patriarchal clan system, it is a social administration system headed by a family patriarch (squire) in rural China (He, 2007).

Figure 9.2 Rural community administrative model changes in transitional China



Source: Based on author's field survey and case studies in Ningbo, 2015

People's Commune System (PCS)

Village management by the original family patriarch (squire) was completely diminished after the communist government of P.R. China was established in 1949. The People's Commune System of rural administrative style was officially established by "*The central committee of the communist party of China about establish people's communes in rural problem resolution*" issued by central government in August 1958 (Dang, 2009). Governments and the Chinese Communist Party achieved a high degree of control of rural grassroots society by manipulating all kinds of natural and rural social resources. The ways of working were through "production teams" instead of individual households, without respecting the different achievements of individuals. This gradually caused a lost passion for working, lower productivity and agricultural land wastage (Dang, 2009). Eventually, it accumulated too many contradictions of village and agricultural development, and severely restricted the quality of life.

Village Committee (VC)

From 1983 to 1986, two official documents about village administration were successively issued by central government (See Chapter 7). This meant that the Village Committee (VC) had become the dominant administrative model of rural communities. Villagers were officially given the rights of village self-governance, but still combined with the limited capabilities of the external executive power of superior governments (Yang, 2007). Rural households were able to do agriculture at their own will, deciding what to plant, and how to plant. This released enormous working enthusiasm among the villagers, and agricultural productivity rose sharply (Dang, 2009; Yang, 2007). In practice, it was implemented by the three-grade administration system: "Group of villagers – Village Committee – the People's government of township". Governmental administrative policies may also arrive at the village level fluently, causing the VC to pay more attention to policy implementation rather than dealing with the public services of residents.

Village Committee of post-tax (VCPT)

From 2004-2006, agricultural tax was abolished by the three official documents issued by central government (See Chapter 7). This means that instead of collecting tax from each household, the VC pays more attention and administrative resources to managing social affairs and providing public services to the local residents. This also significantly promoted the progress of environmental quality, property management, infrastructure, housing quality and welfare.

However, the current administrative system also faced changes. From the closed agricultural community to the open community based on the market economy, the enormous changes in

the ways of working, social life, housing, living and thinking, naturally required the change of administration, in order to meet the diverse and individual needs (Wu, 2008). Moreover, as the increasing number of migrant workers flowed into rural communities, the characteristics of their population structure, lifestyle, working and values comprehensively and profoundly influenced the villages (See Chapter 7). Then in this sense, the change also required the adaptation of the current administrative system.

Therefore, the logic of rural community administration can be seen as problem-oriented. After running the administrative system in the rapidly changing rural society over decades, obviously it hardly satisfied the changing demands of the village society of transitional China. Basically, the trend is bottom-up, and villagers and social groups have more rights of participation (see Chapter 7).

9.3.3 Discussion: from “results-driven” to “service-oriented”

Marketization and democratic development led the principle of legality by government public administration to be the law. “*The rule of law means governance by law*” (Raz, 1979). And this governance should match and properly reflect the regularity and requirement of the marketing economy development, and satisfy the collective interests and the residents’ will.

Results-driven – the logic of changes

Discussing the changes of the government administrative model, James (1996) summarised them into five types: Community-Driven, Mission-Driven, Results-Driven, Customer-Driven and Market-Oriented. The reform and changes of the public sector design of governmental governance are actually mainly based on the changes in residents’ demand.

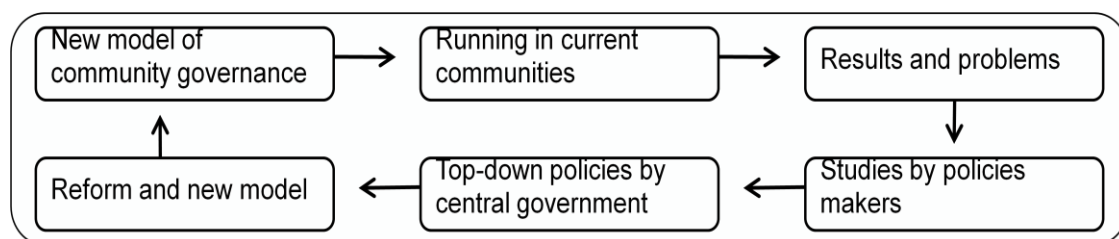


Figure 9.3 Results-Driven style of transitional China’s community governance model

Source: Based on author, 2015

In transitional China, facing the rapid and diverse changes in social and economic aspects of urban and rural communities, including rapid urbanisation, residents’ restructure, and the increasing presence of migrants, community administration models have usually lagged behind. Based on the above analysis, the changes made to community administrative models can be considered as “results-driven” (Figure 9.3). Each new model of community administration was designed for the current social and economic needs, but gradually lost the

capability for coping with social conflicts and the diverse interests of communities. Another round of changes started, based on research and field studies. New reform policies and documents were issued, to guide the implementation of the new model of community administration and governance.

To be service-oriented

The “model of governmental administration” is a term of administrative ideas, administrative functions, and the aims and methods of administrative practice. It is used in the current context and adapted to the current background, but has also changed as society changed (Raz, 1979). In the process of the historical development of public administration, governmental administration can be concluded as comprising three stages: “govern-oriented rural society”, “manage-oriented industrial society”, and “service-oriented government of post-industrial phase” (James, 1996).

The major task of “Govern-oriented” administration is to balance the interests between the landlords and the peasants. Usually they exist in the original rural society of lower productivity and agriculture (James, 1996). “Manage-oriented” is about efficiency in public affairs administration, by controlling social and economic resources. Nevertheless, it very easily breeds the abuse of power, corruption and resource waste by its top-down style (James, 1996), and it is also hard to meet the diverse needs of individuals. The central issue of “service-oriented” administration is to provide workable and useful public services for residents, protecting the disadvantaged groups, encouraging participation; and pursuing administrative and financial efficiency, to fully satisfy the multiple needs of different social groups (Frederickson, 1993).

Table 9.6 Changes of the models of government administration in China

<i>Stages</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Admin. Models</i>	<i>Models in Urban</i>	<i>Models in Rural</i>
<i>Govern-oriented</i>	Balance interests between landlords and peasants	Command-implement; Process management	-----	-----
<i>Manage-oriented</i>	Responsible for superior government; manage public services by controlling	Command-implement.; Process management	Danwei system	PCS
<i>Service-oriented</i>	Provide services for the public	Bottom-up, care for diverse needs	CC	VC and VCPT

Source: Based on James (1996)

Based on the above analysis, the administrative changes of urban and rural communities in transitional China can be summarised in Table 9.6. Danweis of urban communities, and PCS of rural communities are considered to be the manage-oriented style. Obviously, Danwei (before 1997), was in charge of all the public services by firm top-down control of the social,

economic and political resources, and its administration was absolutely based on an administrative order from a higher-level government. In PCS (1949-1983), the village administration is under the administration order of a township-level government, to manipulate the social affairs and the arrangements of farming work within the rural community.

The current urban communities of the CC administration (since 1997) and rural communities of VC and VCPT administration (since 1983) can be considered as examples of the service-oriented administrative style. In urban communities (since 1997), the key task for CC is to satisfy the residents by balancing their diverse individual needs, and encouraging the participation of different stakeholders (see the example of Chapter 6). In rural areas (after 1983), the implementation of RCRS aimed to maximise the benefits of farming for rural families, and the abolition of the agricultural tax in 2003 also fundamentally changed the administrative task of VCs to resident service-based. In addition, the prime minister Wen Jiabao proposed that “We are required to establish a service-oriented government” in March 2004 (Yang, 2007) and the report to the 17th National Congress of the CPC also promised to “accelerate the reform of the administrative system and build a service-oriented government” (China government, 2015). As the official statement of the building service-oriented administration of communities, it means that the starting point and principle of community administration is having more consideration of the residents’ perspective, fulfilling the real need for public services.

9.3.4 Power sharing shift and participation

As the above analysis of the community administration changes shows, urban Danwei and rural PCS are absolutely top-down styles. Governments used the systems to manipulate the management and control of communities, and to maintain industry production and social stability. However, the “big government, small society” style hardly released the passion for working, resulting in low productivity and living qualities. In this sense, the reform of the community administration of urban (CC) and rural (VC) in the 1990s can be seen as a positive response to the contradictions. Diverse groups, organisation and public sectors emerged, representing different interests of stakeholders, and actively participating in the process of community administration and development. This showed the significant trend of power sharing from a few participants to a greater number of participants.

Table 9.7 shows that in current urban communities, there are CC, OC, CRC, CPC, PMCs, SOEs, Anti-poverty groups and social activities groups (refer to Chapter 6); in rural communities, there are VC, voluntary organisations, CRC, CPC, collective economic groups, economic associations, private businesses, charitable groups and medical treatment groups (refer to Chapter 7).

Table 9.7 Participant changes of communities of transitional China

Urban communities			<div><div>Low</div><div>Degree of power sharing</div><div>High</div></div>	Rural communities		
Models	Participants (on behalf of)	Residents		Models	Participants (on behalf of)	Residents
Danwei (before 1998)	Local government (governments)	Local citizens		PCS (before 1983)	Local government (Governments)	Local villagers
	Danwei system (SOEs and governments)				Village Committee (Governments)	
<div></div>				<div></div>		
Community Committee (CC) (Since 2006)	CC (residents & governments)	Local citizens, rural migrants, graduates middle classes, retired people		Village committee of Post-tax (VCPT) (since 2003)	VC (villagers & governments)	Local villagers, rural migrants, graduate, students, business failed people, retired locals
	OC (local residents)				Voluntary organisations (villagers)	
	CRC (local residents)				CRC (local villagers)	
	CPC (party members)				CPC (party members)	
	PMCs (private companies)				Collective economic groups (collective companies)	
	Private business (private businessmen)				Private business (private businessmen)	
	SOEs & public institutions (state-owned unit)		Economic associations (diverse companies)			
	Anti-poverty groups (disadvantaged groups)		Charitable groups (disadvantaged groups)			
	Social activities groups (locals)		Medical treatment groups (disadvantaged groups)			

Source: Based on author's field survey and case studies, 2015

Based on Arnstein's Ladder (1969), participation is summarised as three levels and eight categories (Table 9.8). Each rung reflects the stakeholders' influences on the planning progress and outcomes. The lower rungs of the ladder are manipulation and therapy, in which the decision-makers are only the local authorities and planning organisations; they educate the participants to accept the results rather than discuss them (Friedman & Miles, 2006). The other participants have no influence on the outcomes at all. In the middle sections of the ladder of "tokenism", three rungs are identified. From the rungs of "informing" to "consultation" and "placation", stakeholders have better participation, but this is still quite shallow. "Informing" is a one-way flow from the decision-makers without any feedback from the participants; in "Consultation", participants may have some opportunities to talk to authorities' for their better understanding of the planning, but their opinions may not be used; in "Placation", a few stakeholders may provide some suggestions or ideas but the final decision is still made by these decision-makers (Arnstein, 1969) (Table 9.8).

At the highest rungs of the ladder, the “stakeholders” have become partly responsible for their ideas in the outcomes. The three rungs show the extent of genuine participation. For example, in “Delegated Power” and “Stakeholder Control”, stakeholders can speak their ideas to a large extent, which has a very important influence on planning progress and final outcomes (Arnstein, 1969) (Table 9.8).

Table 9.8 Different levels of participation

Levels of participation	Arnstein's Ladder		Rural community administration	Urban community administration	Time
<i>Degree of stakeholders</i>	Stakeholders control		VCPT	CC with SWCC	2000s-today
	Delegation power				
	Partnership				
<i>Degree of tokenism</i>	Placation		VC	CC	1990s
	Consultation				
	Informing				
<i>Degree of no-participation</i>	Therapy		PCS	Danwei admin. by SOEs	Before 1990s
	Manipulation				

Source: Based on Arnstein (1969), Taschner and Fieldler (2009)

According to the above analysis, the Commune System (PCS) of rural communities and the Danwei system of urban communities match the rung of “Manipulation”, because the ways of community administration and management are top-down and manipulating, and there is very little self-organisation and low participation.

The second phase (VC of rural, CC of urban) arrived at the rung of “informing”, since the local authorities and public sectors would publish the planning results in order to gather different voices. Since 2000, un-governmental power has been growing dramatically, including OC, CRC, PMCs, CPC, NGOs, social groups and voluntary associations (Table 9.7). The opinions and different voices of stakeholders and groups are required to be heard before the implementation of community development and planning. But many locals have little enthusiasm for participating in representative conferences, elections of committees and social activities, because few of these ideas are involved in the final decisions and in practice. Hence, “VCPT” of rural communities and “CC with SWCC” of urban communities can be considered to fall under “tokenism”, the rung of “Placation”, and going to the rung of “Partnership” (Table 9.8).

In addition, it is necessary to mention that the migrant-worker population size is rather large in current residential communities. They came, found jobs, adapted to the new urban life and

work, and lived there for a long time, but never became involved in the local communities, in terms of social life, management, welfare, planning and social activities. In the above case analysis of Yongjiang, the contradictions of migrant workers and the Village Committee have accumulated over a long time, but have never been heard. So it still stayed on the rung of “manipulation” for the migrant-worker people (see Chapter 8).

9.4 The social mobility of migrant workers

Since the urban industrial restructure by SOEs reform and the implementation of the Rural Contract Responsibility System (RCRS) in the 1980s, a large increasing number of released rural labour flowed into the cities (see Chapter 8). But because of the restrictions of the Hukou system and the social characteristics of the migrant workers’ population, gradually there formed a series of differences between the migrant workers and the local residents, in terms of housing, work, social life, lifestyle, population structure, and sense of community.

Rural migrants have become a large-scale social group in today’s cities (The State Council Research Office, 2006), with a comprehensive and profound influence on economic and social urban changes (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8). And the social mobility of rural migrants can also be analysed and divided into different characteristics, and the mechanisms be analysed as follows.

9.4.1 The social mobility of migrant workers

Regarding the social mobility of migrant workers in China, Li divided it into three types: from rural to urban areas; from less-developed areas to developed regions; from low-income to higher-income jobs (Li, 1996). Wang (2003) thought that social networking had been the main mechanism of migrant workers’ social mobility because it helped them to obtain valued information about job opportunities and housing. Li found that migrant workers changed jobs frequently, but experienced very little positive change of their social status (Li, 2002). Han (2006) defined the social mobility of migrant workers as two flows: from rural to urban society is an upward flow, the reverse is a backward flow.

Table 9.9 The social mobility of migrant workers

Steps	Downtown		Urban fringe		Suburb	
	1 st group	2 nd group	1 st group	2 nd group	1 st group	3 rd group
Step 1: Arrive at cities	Introduced by the relatives and fellow villagers (social networks); Mostly working in service economy of downtown.		Introduced by relatives and fellow villagers (social networks); Mostly working in labour-intensive industry, service economy, small business.		Introduced by relatives and villagers, moved from elsewhere in the city; Mostly working in labour-intensive industry or running small business.	
Step 2: Adapted and changed	Hard working, and doing best to find jobs with full insurance in big companies or public organisations	Looking for any opportunities of small business by adapting to urban life and working	Hard working, and trying to find jobs with full insurances in big companies or public organisations	Looking for any opportunities of small business by adapting to urban life and working	Working in labour-intensive industry and enhancing working skills	Most of them started running business by hard work, adaptation to urban life
Step 3: Committed to hard work	Bring his spouse to the city, and work hard to save money for the pension and children's marriage	Bring family and friends to enlarge business, and save money for Hukou by buying property	Bring the spouse in the city, and work hard to save money for the pension and children's marriage	Bring family and friends to enlarge business, and save money for Hukou by buying property	Work as cheap labour with less insurance; some females married to locals	Keeping looking for any opportunities of jobs and business, then decided to stay or leave
Step 4: Results	Most of them would go home finally	Very few of them would settle down; others would go back to hometown	Most of them would go home finally	Very few of them would settle down; others would go back to hometown	Most of them settled down without Hukou	Some of them prefer going home, some stay for any opportunities
Motivations	Better insurance, pension and Hukou	To be local citizen by buying property to enjoy welfare	Better insurance, pension and Hukou	To be a local citizen by buying property to enjoy welfare	Better insurance, pension and Hukou	Lower cost, good environment and look for any jobs
Care about	Pension, education, medical and nursing		Pension, education, medical and nursing		Pension, education, medical, nursing, and living environment	

Source: Based on author's field survey and case studies in Ningbo, 2015

Based on the questionnaires and interviews with the migrant workers in the three cases, Table 9.9 summarises the four steps of migrant workers' social mobility by location. Based on the different results of social mobility, it divided them into two groups: the first group would go back hometown, and a few lucky ones from the other group would settle down eventually.

(Step 1) Arrive in the city.

They came to the city for a better job and a higher income, by the recommendation of their old social networks of old friends, relatives and fellow villagers.

(Step 2) Adapted and changed.

After working and living in the new environment of cities for a few years, the first group of migrants would continue doing the jobs (labour-intensive, construction building and service economy) for higher income (usually with no formal work contract); others would look for

any jobs with a formal work contract and better work insurance (in property management companies, logistics work in the college and public sectors). The motivation for changing jobs is full insurance protection (five-insurance payment) of a legal work contract, rather than a current higher income. The second group would look for any opportunities of doing small business, for example a store, a gift shop, a fruit shop or snack stalls.

(Step 3) Committed to working harder

The first group, which had a better and stable job (with a legal work contract, or running a small business), would usually only bring their spouse to work together. They were committed to doing the job for decades to save enough money for the education of children, the marriage and housing of adult children, or the pension of senior parents and themselves. The second group, which had a stable business, would usually enlarge the business by bringing in more workers from their families and the trusted people from their hometown.

(Step 4) Results

The first group (with a formal work contract and better insurance) would usually decide to go back to their hometown, and to spend most of their savings on the marriage and housing of adult children, then to spend the rest of their life in their old village house. There are still a small number of migrants who are not successful in their jobs and failed in business; they would usually go to try other opportunities in the suburb areas, due to the cheaper housing and food, and a less competitive environment. So they have not gone back home yet, but probably will. Only a very few migrants of the second group, who are successful in business, would successfully achieve the local Hukou, enjoying the same welfare as local citizens.

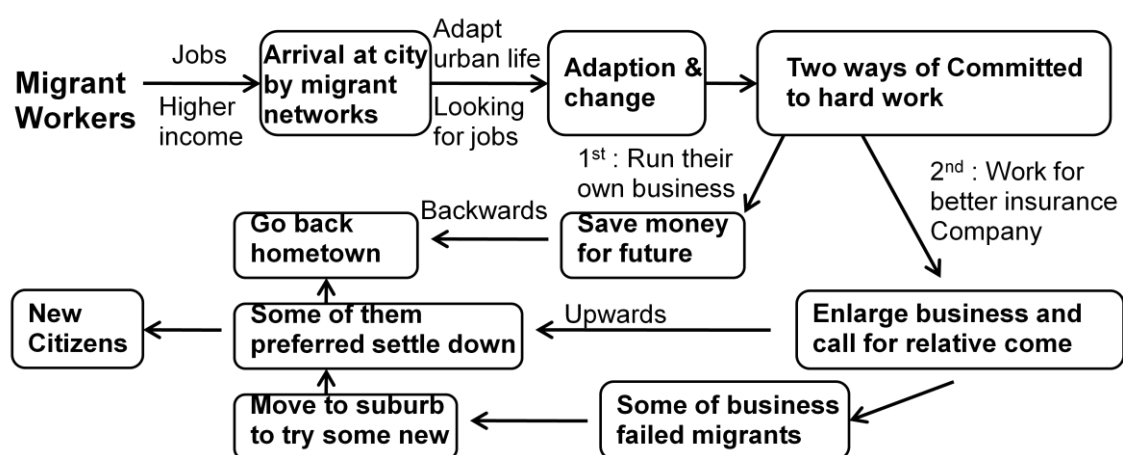


Figure 9.4 The social mobility of migrant workers

Source: Based on author's field survey and case studies, 2015

Zhao (2003) analysed the key functions of the migrant networks in China's migration process and found that experienced migrants (who had lived in cities for a long time) played a very

positive role for later migrants. By the characteristics of the four steps above, it was found that new arrival migrant workers have indeed obtained rich and useful information regarding housing, social life and work, but gradually the social flow has taken a different trend (upward mobility and backwards mobility) (Figure 9.4).

Upwards social mobility: business management capability

According to the above analysis (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8), educational level and skill training are both positively correlated with social mobility. The social mobility theories indicate that individual social mobility changes are affected mainly by natural factors and self-induced factors; but in fact, genetic heritage is usually less influential than social heritage, hence social mobility would be smooth if personal capabilities played a bigger role in the process (John and Jose, 2000). Therefore, in modern society, the self-induced factors (education level, skill levels and the ability of business management), can also be considered as the comprehensive reflection of individual capabilities and personal qualities, as the passport to upward social mobility. But because the profound limitations of Hukou system in China's society, causing these factors played a much less influence on upward social mobility of migrant worker (See Chapters 6, 7 and 8).

The Hukou (Household Registration system), a unique system in Chinese society, played a function of social filtering, meaning only those who can satisfy the harsh terms of Hukou can become real local citizens. For a long time, under the strict control of the Hukou, locals and migrants lived in "two worlds" (the welfare attached to Hukou is treated differently, so the migrants cannot enjoy the same welfare and public service as locals, including free education, health care, employment training, pension and other preferential policies). This means that the only channel available for a migrant to enjoy public welfare (to settle down) is to obtain a local Hukou. However, this requires huge amounts of money that are ordinarily unaffordable. For example, one of the five application ways is "buy a local new housing of more over 100 m²", to achieve the local Hukou of Ningbo (Ningbo municipality, 2015); actually, the average price of 100 m² property of Ningbo was 1,100,000 RMB in 2015, which almost amounts to 367 months of a migrant worker's salary (Zhang & Wu, 2014; Statistic of Planning Bureau Ningbo, 2015).

Then, no matter how much skills have improved and how much more they are educated, they are still far behind the threshold. Then, "running a successful business" may be the only way left to them to become citizens, mainly because the income would be very significant (if it is a successful business), more so than the salary of "working in factories", and "capability of business management" (which migrants can have through hard working and learning). There are some examples of migrants successfully achieving local Hukou by running restaurants (see Chapter 8). Therefore, because of the harsh terms of Hukou, most migrant workers may have more income through working hard with higher skills and being well-educated, but there

are only very few migrants who can become citizens by successfully (upwards social mobility) running a business.

Backwards social mobility:

Very few of them can settle down, most have to go back home to the villages. Han defined the mobility of migrant workers from cities back to rural hometown as backwards social mobility (Han, 2006). Bai and He (2003) found that the number returning to their hometowns is sometimes because of unemployment but less often due to the family and emotions.

This study found that having the opportunity of a significant income is a main cause of the flow of migrant workers into the cities, a kind of upward mobility. But most other migrants of ordinary income would never really settle down, and finally have to go back to their hometown (see Chapters 7 and 8), because they cannot access local welfare. In response to the interview question "What is the most important thing in your future?" most expressed concerns about the "endowment insurance, children's education, and health care" (interview survey, 2015). As a result, their only means of access to this public welfare is to return to their hometown (Table 9.9 and Figure 9.4).

9.4.2 Neighbourhoods of migrant workers: "transient neighbourhoods"

Neighbourhoods of migrant workers

It has been found that the large-scale flow of migrant workers has gradually formed diverse kinds of spontaneous gatherings in residential neighbourhoods of downtown in the urban fringe and suburbs (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8). Wu (2003) defined this phenomenon as the Floating Population Agglomeration areas, mostly spontaneously concentrating in the suburbs with plenty of opportunities for jobs and cheaper housing. They have some special characteristics in terms of population, age, culture, social network and sense of community, which are details described in the above cases (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8) (Table 9.10); he also considered that is an inevitable outcome of transitional China.

Table 9.10 The neighbourhoods of migrant population

<i>Locations</i>	<i>Job opportunities</i>	<i>Attraction factors</i>	<i>Neighbourhoods types</i>
<i>Urban fringe</i>	Urbanisation extension, labour-intensive industry, university town development, service economy	Cheaper housing with bigger rooms; location; concentrated housing; convenient transportation	Village-in-city, landless village
<i>Down town</i>	Service economy, nearby developed CBD, rich information about jobs	Concentrated housing; close to workplaces; but less facilities	Declining old downtown neighbourhood; work places
<i>Suburb</i>	Labour-intensive factories, less competitive environment	Cheaper rent of big rooms, good environment, location	Suburban village, New Village

Source: Based on author's field survey and case studies, 2015

As Table 9.10 shows, the general attractive factors and job opportunities for migrant workers are different in the neighbourhoods of different locations. The landless villages and villages-in-city of the urban fringe attracted the largest number of migrants. This is because of the development of the university town and urbanisation, resulting in a large service market, providing plenty of opportunities; the landless villages may also provide enough cheaper housing (see Chapter 8).

The declining traditional old neighbourhoods of downtown will also be a preferable residential place for migrants, due to the factors that it is easier to commute, there is cheaper housing with storage space, many channels of valuable information about job opportunities and skills training, and most importantly the job opportunities in the nearby downtown CBD of a developed service economic centre (see Chapter 6) (Table 9.10).

In the “new village” of the suburb, a large number of labour-intensive companies are concentrated in the rural industrial zone along the main roads, providing plenty of job positions, and usually many empty rooms in cheaper houses. These would be rented to them at a low rent with more space and a better quality environment (see Chapter 7). Nevertheless, it was also found that a small group of migrants were not successful in jobs and businesses, but had not given up the “urban dream” (to settle down), and would usually come to a suburban village to strive for a second chance (Figure 9.4). Mainly this is because it is less competitive than in urban areas, with lower daily costs of housing and food (see Chapter 8).

General requirements to welfare requirements: transient and adaptive neighbourhoods

Sociologists have demonstrated that the family can meet the needs of its members in all aspects of economic, emotional and social support. The family life cycle comprises leaving home, the joining of families through marriage, the new couple, families with young children, families with adolescents, launching children and moving on, and later family life ((Carter & McGoldrick, 1989). Therefore, different stages of the family life cycle result in different needs for family welfare (Gilly & Enis, 1982). The families of migrant workers face greater challenges because their Hukou (household registration) place is not the place where they work, meaning that they cannot enjoy local welfare to satisfy the many necessary needs of families. Table 9.11 provides a summary of the different stages of migrant families’ needs (Interviews and questionnaires, 2015).

Table 9.11 Five stages of migrant workers' family life cycle in Ningbo, 2015

Stages	Details in stages of life cycle	Family requirements
<i>(1) Leave home and hometown</i>	Leave schools and go to cities for better jobs and higher income	Employment needs, family economy (support family members and prepare for marriage)
<i>(2) Get married and have children</i>	Get married with a local girl most probably; birth of a male baby is always preferred	Employment needs, emotional needs, family economy and housing needs
<i>(3) Raise children and take care senior parents</i>	Take the responsibilities of family economic and emotional support (wife taking care of children, senior parents before the reunion with husband in cities)	Education needs, senior parents' needs, emotional needs, family economy and housing needs
<i>(4) Children grow up and get married</i>	Preparing for adult children and taking care of the grandchildren	Employment needs, housing needs, grandchildren's needs
<i>(5) Later family life</i>	Mostly stay in home village, rely on savings and adult children's support; few of them live together with next generation	Emotional needs, nursing and pension needs

Source: Based on author's field survey and case studies in Ningbo, 2015

The content in Table 9.11 of the migrants' family life path matches the family life cycle theory, and there are five sections:

- 1) Generally migrant workers leave home at a very early age.
- 2) It is quite possible that the young couple is forced to live separately for a long period, because each of them has a job to do (the wife usually take cares of young children in the home village, the husband usually works in a faraway city).
- 3) The wife would be keen to reunite with her husband once the children have grown up; and then grandparents would take the responsibility of caring for them before they grow to be adults.
- 4) The couple are committed to working hard to save enough money for children's education and marriage, and their future pension.
- 5) Finally most of them would go back their original village home.

The different stages of a family life cycle have changing needs, in terms of the cost of living, housing, work, education, medical, emotional, and other needs. Migrant-worker families are generally "family-centred", meaning they would do their best to provide economic security, emotional support and support for the elderly and the young in all stages.

Gu (2013) divided the diverse needs into two types: the needs that can be satisfied by a

market system and individual effort, which can be seen as "general requirements". The needs that must be fulfilled through the welfare system and policies are considered as "welfare needs", for example, pension, education, health care, loss of unemployment, injuries at work.

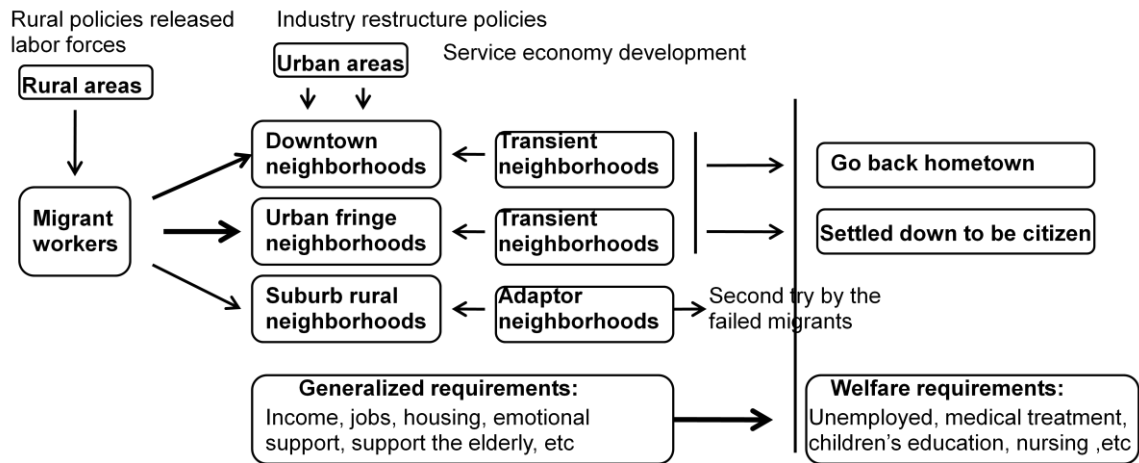


Figure 9.5 From “general requirement” to “welfare requirements”

Source: Based on author’s field survey and case studies, 2015

However, most “general requirements” of migrant workers, including job opportunities, cheaper housing, easy commuting and opportunities for learning, can be satisfied in these residential neighbourhoods (Figure 9.5), and very few migrants can achieve the local Hukou in order to eventually enjoy the welfare system in the cities (see the above analysis).

Therefore, in reality, those residential neighbourhoods of migrant agglomeration (declining traditional neighbourhoods of downtown, villages-in-city, landless villages, new village), have played a very necessary function in satisfying the “general requirements” of migrant families (Table 9.11). In this sense, the neighbourhoods can be called “transient neighbourhoods”, in an irreplaceable position, offering the stable "general requirements" of their family life cycle, until the migrants settle down or leave the cities, to finally satisfy the “welfare requirement” by Hukou (migrants who go back to their home village can also enjoy the welfare system of the hometown through their rural Hukou) (Table 9.11).

9.5 Research contributions: the characteristics of community and neighbourhood change

In studies of urban change during China's transition period, communities can be the key to understanding the logic of Chinese city change. As a space, a community is the set of basic needs of daily life, including housing, work, leisure, social interactions and other functions; as a period of time, it carries the stigma of a particular historical period, representing the change

over time repeating a collective memory of certain ages; as a building block, anything happening at city level will produce a basic response at the community level; as a home, many social problems will be faced in the transformation period, and the community also provides a social network, so that residents can share their sense of identity; as a basic unit of urban management and social administration, citizens can participate in the political process through community self-government organisations, expressing their interests and voice; as a perspective, by providing an overview of community changes it can build connections to understand the relations between urban transformation and change at the individual level.

9.5.1 Neighbourhood and community change in urban and rural areas

As the power of market-oriented development and urbanisation accelerated in transitional China, urban and rural communities have become more complex and diverse. In current Ningbo, communities (neighbourhoods) can be classified as Danwei communities, traditional old communities, commercial-residential communities, resettlement communities (urban resettled neighbourhood, rural resettled neighbourhood), village-in-city, landless village, “new village” (initial industrialisation) and the traditional village.

Urban community: from Danwei to commercial-residential community

Simply put, the changes of urban communities can be mainly considered as moving from Danwei to commercial-residential communities. After the Danwei system rapidly disintegrated in the late 1990s, commercial-residential communities (market-driven) have undertaken most functions of the Danwei, including economic, political, cultural and social activities, health care, education, pensions, safety, and property management. Obviously the introduction of the market system substantially increased the quality of construction and quality of living, but also fractured the previous social network and changed residents’ self-identity, from the “Danwei Ren” (Danwei Person) to stranger neighbours.

Rural Community: passive urbanisation, initiative urbanisation

In rural areas of transitional China, the major changes were driven by urbanisation and industrialisation, but the degree to which the villages are affected is very different. It can be divided into three basic categories:

The agricultural-based traditional villages mostly became landless, were demolished and converted into resettlement neighbourhoods, since the urbanisation extension and university-town development in the urban fringe of the 1990s were considered as passive urbanisation. The households have had to adapt to a new lifestyle of working and neighbourhood relations; moreover, a large number of migrant workers have also been attracted by the labour-intensive industrial development. These migrants are young and energetic, and live with local residents in landless villages, accounting for over half of the

total resident population.

The other villages of the suburb mostly developed into a “new village” style by taking the route of independent rural industrial development (“initiative urbanisation”) since the 1990s, with the policy supporting new villages (see Chapter 7). Basically, they are still rural communities in terms of administration, and the residents have a rural Hukou, but the landscape and ways of daily life have been urbanised, for example, the unified planning and construction of resettlement housing (mainly two-storey villas), and the urban-level qualities of infrastructure and public facilities. This has also attracted an increasing number of migrant workers, who have settled down for many years but cannot enjoy the welfare and public services of health, education and pensions, or the right to political participation due to the blocking of the Hukou. Eventually this has become one of the most difficult challenges for VC administration (see Chapter 7).

The last category is the traditional village based on agriculture, which has existed for a hundred years or so. Only a few have retained the characteristics of traditional rural culture, the ancestral culture, rural neighbourhoods, farming culture and big family culture, but many have become dilapidated or have disappeared (this research considers all the types of villages, except the “traditional village”).

9.5.2 Community administration change: to be service-oriented, the CPC

From “management-oriented” to “service-oriented”, the logic of community administration has fundamentally changed; and in the trend of bottom-up, power has been released from the manipulation of government to the rights of residents’ participation and community self-governance.

From management-oriented to service-oriented

From the Danwei to the CC (CC with CCSW) of urban community administration, the power has shifted from “absolute manipulation of governments” to “self-governance of community” over the past three decades. It can also be observed that a change has occurred from “industrial-production-based” to “service-oriented”, because the residents of Danwei, as the staff of the SOEs, must make sure that their daily routine schedule and social activities comply with the arrangements of the SOEs’ production tasks. However, the SOEs withdrew from community administration and management after the urban SOE reform in the late 1990s. The CC replaced the Danwei and became the major organisation of community administration after the late 1990s, and conducted administration and implemented welfare policies based on consideration of the residents’ demand, representing the interests of all types of residents. The CC was further improved by adding the SWCC in 2003, actively promoting the participation of residents, and the development of diverse social groups and NGOs (see

Chapter 9).

In the meantime, community administration has experienced similar changes in rural communities, in three stages: the PCS until 1983, the VC of 1983 to 2003, and the VCPT since 2003 (see Chapter 9). In this process, the foundation and starting point of administration have also changed from “developing agricultural economy” to “enhancing the quality of life”, and local villagers have also gained more freedom to participate in local governance.

Actually, with “market-oriented” and “service-based” as the consensus of the current administration of the community (village), it has been the trend to cooperate with different stakeholders, including CC, CPC, OC, SWCC, CRC, SOEs, NGOs and many social groups. This has also shown the different characteristics of community administration since the form, history, and structure of the resident population and social groups, and the development process, are very different among kinds of communities and neighbourhoods.

In the traditional old neighbourhoods and resettlement neighbourhoods of downtown, the CPC and CC representatives of government and politicians have more power than the OC and the property management companies, since market power is less involved in communities’ development. In the CRCs, property management companies and the OC usually had more influence on the maintenance and development of the community, as well as social groups, such as SWCC and NGOs, rather than the CC and the CPC, simply because the market mechanisms were the original motivation of CRCs’ establishment since their beginning. In landless villages and “new villages”, the VC had been in the dominant position of village administration and managing most of the collective properties since the early 1983, and CPC also playing a strong assistant function in contacting governments and organising the villagers’ social activities.

The crucial position of CPC

The Communist Party Committee (CPC), as a unique participant of local administration and social stabilisation in communist China, has been in an irreplaceable role in community-based management. In most difficult situations, only the director of CC and CPC (as the officially appointed officer by the superior government), have the capabilities to mobilise the necessary political and governmental resources to mediate the conflicts of the stakeholders effectively. The Community (Village) Committee is only a self-governance organisation of representative residents, without the involvement of other stakeholders, and it has very limited power and less authority, and therefore cannot usually work efficiently in practice. In addition, most members of the CPC are also local residents, who know about the local circumstances deeply and comprehensively, and usually they are also the members of many other organisations, such as OC, SWCC, SOEs, CRC, social groups and NGOs. Therefore the participation of the CPC means the involvement of all stakeholders in most cases.

9.5.3 The motivations for residential change

The motivations for residential changes in the locals and the migrants are very different, but essentially both are based on the pursuit of the better qualities of welfare and public services of Hukou.

Migrant workers: to have local Hukou

A higher frequency of residential change is one of the typical characteristic of migrant workers' lives in cities. The motivation for changing housing does not come from a desire to improve living conditions, but is due to the fact that the unstable jobs market means that they need to update their accommodation to be nearby their workplaces (most migrant workers are only temporary workers without a legal work contract). In this case, they mostly preferred moving to places where there were more job opportunities, for example, the downtown of the developed service economy, and the suburb of labour-intensive industries (see Chapter 9). Moreover, it can also be seen as the result of their efforts to achieve "upward social mobility". As the marginalised social groups, migrants cannot access the same urban social benefits and jobs opportunities as the locals. Thus, the social mobility channel becomes extremely narrow, and only by pursuing better jobs can they meet the conditions of achieving a local Hukou (see Chapter 9).

Local residents: to have better quality of life

In contrast, local residents usually have less passion for residential changes compared to migrants, unless they are committed to improving their housing qualities. The most important reason for moving is to change the place of household registration (Hukou) in order to access better welfare and public resources (e.g. education, health care) (see Chapter 7).

9.5.4 Urbanisation blocking: Hukou

Rural population's urbanisation is an inevitable process of an under-developed country transforming into a developed country (Han, 2014). However, this transition process is blocked in transitional China.

Flowing back villages

The urbanisation level of China was 56.10% in 2015, meaning 603.5 million people. These are mostly the elderly and children in rural areas (National Statistical Bureau, 2016), and this huge number of rural citizens have fewer possibilities to be citizens due to the strict regulations of Hukou (see Chapters 6 and 9).

In today's Chinese cities, there are around 277.5 million migrant workers. Most of them came to the cities only as heavy labourers in their youth, saving money for their children's

education and marriage. However as they have less property income and a limited salary to afford housing in the cities, and are unable to access public services and social security (see Chapter 9), a considerable number of them will flow back home to their villages when they become elderly (National Statistical Bureau, 2016).

This trend blocked the urbanisation process of transitional China, because the migrant population are not only the labourers, but also the customers of urban housing, entertainment, and the food and health industry (Fan, 2011). Therefore, losing the population that might turn into citizens also means losing the motivation of urban development.

Hukou system

The Hukou system, as a tool for keeping the migrant population out of using the local welfare system, has been very effective over the past thirty years (Lu, 2008). It allows the government to achieve rapid economic and urban development without too much of a burden of welfare and social services (Li, 2004). In addition, this particular system has been a social safety net, protecting the jobless migrant workers' return to rural enclaves, as they may still receive some basic income for daily costs through subsistence farming (the basic rights granted of migrants' rural Hukou).

However, this progress of urbanisation and the urban industrialisation in transitional China are achieved on the basis of the depriving migrant workers of welfare and pensions. Essentially, the design of such a system (Hukou) is still the product of a top-down logic of the planned-economy era, which greatly limited the personal freedom of movement, the capabilities of political participation, and the right to enjoy the basic welfare and social services. It finally distorted the adjustment mechanism elements of market allocation on population, resources and production factors (Fan, 2011). Obviously, as a hindrance to the development trend of today's China's (market-oriented economy), it has become the biggest obstacle to sustainable urbanisation and community development (Lu, 2008).

Furthermore, the existence of the Hukou system blocks many of the poor (rural migrants) from living in the cities, preventing the occurrence of big cities' environmental and residential problems (Zhang, 2010); and storing the surplus labour of migrant workers in rural rather than the cases of in the urban slums of India and Brazil, and eliminating the possibility of slums happening (as has happened, for example, in India and Brazil), which can be seen as one of the special characteristics of Chinese urbanisation (Fan, 2011). Even so, Chinese cities still have other serious problems: traffic jams, unequal distribution of welfare resources, environmental degradation and air pollution (Lu, 2008). Many scholars have clearly indicated that the occurrence of these problems is not directly related to the migrant population in cities, but due to a large number of factors, including the economic structure, policies, the government and the population structure.

Thus, the Hukou as a policy of the planned-economy era (Cheng & Mark, 1994) reduces some of the costs of urban development and prevents the formation of slums (Fan, 2011; Lu, 2008), but it has also had a profoundly negative influence on urban and rural communities.

In rural: “Left-behind children” and “hollow village”

As an increasing number of rural residents go to cities, a large number of young children are left in villages for a long time. These are known as “left-behind children”, who might have some mental health problems as they lack the family love and care of parents during their growing-up period (Peng, 2008). This results in millions of divided families, as the parents may only be able to meet their children once a year (Saunders, 2010).

The “hollow villages”, as these rural enclaves of only children and grandparents are known in China, are caused by the millions of working-age peasants who have moved to the cities to work and found that the urban school system and health service agencies are closed to new arrivals (without a local urban Hukou). This has become a global phenomenon. For example, in the case of Italy, the cities’ police and legal system are actively hostile to arrival-city families; in Romania, “hollow villages” have been a national issue for a long time, and the education resources and social service agencies are blocked to these new arrival-city families too (Saunders, 2010).

However, an increasing number of China’s rural-urban migrants have been able to completely settle down and bring their families with them (see Chapter 9), as some of them have passed the stage of just going as migrant workers. And this trend has also gradually destroyed the traditional rural culture of clan-based and agriculture-based villages (Che, 2006). “We love our village life, but when we are gone, I won’t come here again” (Interview, Mr Zhen, 2015).

In urban: New generation migrants

A considerable number of the new generation of migrants born in the arrival cities since the 1980s have no experience of rural living and work experience, and would not go back to rural enclaves if they failed to settle down. When they find that the local welfare system and public services of employment are closed to migrants who do not have a local Hukou, they take a heavy hit mentally, because most of them already have a strong self-identity as local citizens. Eventually, they become the marginal populations of both cities and villages.

9.6 Conclusion

On the basis of the review of the analysis of the cases studies (Chapters 6, 7 and 8), firstly, this chapter summarised the characteristics of community change at a city level, including the classification of communities, and the internal structure of economic, demographic, social and

organisations. This was done from four perspectives (Population, Income and jobs, Residential, Public service), to discuss the characteristics of the communities' change.

Then, from the view of institutional change, and urbanisation (University City), it explored the complex mechanisms and motivations of the urban changes in transitional China. It demonstrated that this is actually a slow releasing of market forces through institutional reform, letting market mechanisms determine the process of urban construction and development. It was found that in this trend, the role of government is not a gradual withdrawal, but the dual-track system of government and market development, meaning that the continued existence of the governments is a function of mediation and coordination rather than manipulation.

This trend and logic was again confirmed in the discussion of community administration models' change: from the PSC to VCPT (rural communities), and from Danwei to CC with CCSWs (urban communities). Gradually the power has been shifting from the government to the hands of the residents and the communities; from "management-oriented" to "service-oriented", the process reflected the logic and starting point of community administration changes. Residents and diverse NGOs have participated in the process of community management and development.

Lastly, this chapter discussed the social mobility of the disadvantaged groups (migrant workers), and summarised the characteristics and factors influencing the trend, and found that the neighbourhoods of migrant population agglomeration, as "transient neighbourhoods", played the irreplaceable role of providing "generalised requirements" until the integration of urban society (obtaining a local Hukou) or leaving the cities (going back to home villages).

Chapter Ten: Conclusion: Community changes in transitional China

Introduction

On the basis of a literature review of sustainable development and community studies, from the perspective of local residents and migrant workers, this research analysed the characteristics of socio-spatial changes at the neighbourhood level using data from interviews and questionnaires. It examined the three cases of the downtown, urban fringe and suburb of Ningbo from the 1980s to the 2010s, and discussed the mechanisms of community and neighbourhood change in transitional China. It found that the market mechanisms and power involved in social and economic changes are the main causes for the community and neighbourhood change in transitional China.

In this chapter, the achievements based on the research aim and objectives are discussed, including the limitations of the study and possible future research directions. Following this, there is a discussion of the novelty of the research, in terms of the research perspective, the new ways of designing an appraisal framework and the data collection. Lastly, the chapter reflects on the wider implications and benefits of the research for the future of planning and local governance in China.

10.1 Reflections on the overall aim and objectives of the research

10.1.1 Achievements of the research

The concept of community and neighbourhood in China's context has a unique and different meaning from that usually discussed in western literature, and the concepts have also changed over the past three decades. Hence, the first important objective of this research was "to review the potential and limitations of community and neighbourhood studies in the west and in transitional China". The working concepts of community and neighbourhood in transitional China have been fully explained in the chapter two. Then the review the literature of community and neighbourhood studies, found out the research gap that few studies of community and city changes in China were carried out at a neighbourhood level, in various categories, changing in time, and from a social-economic perspective.

To achieve the research aim "to analyse the characteristics of socio-economic changes at the neighbourhood level in Ningbo from the 1980s to the 2010s, to clarify the mechanisms of neighbourhood changes in transitional China for supporting better development", an appraisal framework of the changes was designed based on a literature review of sustainability and community studies; and this is also the foundation of the second objective "to design the case studies and field work". It means that the strategies for data collection and usage from the three cases in Ningbo, including the details of questionnaire design and interview sheets were all developed based on the appraisal framework.

The mainbody of the whole research, studied the socio-economic changes of three cases to identify the unique characteristics and problems of changed neighbourhoods in transitional China. Based on the appraisal framework, the Wenchang downtown community, the Yongjiang area of the urban fringe and the Shangshao Village in the suburb have been respectively analyzed in neighbourhood and individual levels, and details clarified about changes in employment, income, housing, sense of community, public services and infrastructure, also the administrative system in urban communities and villages was summarized into three phases according to the characteristics analysis in terms of stakeholders participation, ways of administration, power sharing and policy changes since the 1980s.

Based on the detailed analysis of community changes, the research summarised the category change and detailed features of the neighbourhoods; and from the socio-economic institutional change and urbanization of university town, it analyzed the dynamic mechanisms of these changes, and explained how these motivations influenced the changes, and demonstrated that the "dual-track approach" is the most distinctive way; the regularity and trends of administration changes of urban and rural community have also been analyzed, and it was found that the power sharing shifted to bottom in the logic of "results-driven" style.

Consequently, this research clarified the contribution on the changes of communities and neighbourhoods in transitional China's context, the motivations of the comprehensive phenomena, and the influence by the factor of Hukou; demonstrated the innovative aspects of the research, and discussed the wider implications and benefits of the research

10.1.2 Limitations of the research

Sample size

Three cases of seven different kinds of neighbourhood were studied, but all from one single city (Ningbo). This is not enough to illustrate the full picture of complex changes of urban and rural communities in transitional China. In future studies, the sample size may appropriately increase, and be more diverse in terms of locations of cities, span of time, and interviewees, to effectively cover the full picture of the comprehensive changes of communities in transitional China.

The context of China

The context of transitional China was considered when designing the indicator system, but it still lacks the complete treatment of a number of detailed factors. For example, the factors of "fresh markets", and "local school education" had a very deep influence when Chinese residents made their selection of residential location, according to the field studies in Ningbo.

In terms of culture, people love cooking and eating fresh vegetables every day, and whether or not their housing is close to a fresh market is a major consideration. In terms of school education allocation, it is very unfair, especially in downtown areas of big cities, as households are supposed to be registered in the location of their housing (see Chapter 6 and Chapter 9, Hukou), so where you live determines where your children can study. Therefore, in extending this research, more specific factors and situations of current China should be considered, in order to study effectively the communities and neighbourhoods.

Field studies

The in-depth research and analysis of the three cases of seven different types of neighbourhoods involved rich details of economic, social and historical factors, resulting in a large workload, as actually each case can almost be a doctoral dissertation in its own right. However, there are still many interesting elements that can be investigated in further studies based on the field studies. For example, a very unique but dying religion still exists in Shangshao village; it is only popular and influential among a group of very old villagers, but the forming of this religion is related to an old story about the first generation that emigrated to today's location. This was the foundation of the self-identity of the local villagers, but it will probably disappear soon as urbanisation and industrialisation have an impact. In this sense, further field studies would contribute to research on this topic.

10.2 Innovative aspects of the research

Exploring the community changes of transitional China not only enriches the theoretical and empirical experience in Chinese cities and community change research, but by focusing analysis at the community level and individual level, it contributes to the promotion of residents' healthy living. It reduces poverty, narrows the differences between locals and migrants, improves the quality of participation and creates a wide range of social integration, so that the residential communities and neighbourhoods can be more healthy and sustainable in terms of urban planning, governance and development. Therefore, the innovative aspects of this study may be summarised as the following three points:

10.2.1 Utilising the research perspective of “community-scale combined with urban-scale”

On the basis of describing the social-economic changes at the city level, the study selected the targeted cases of the downtown, urban fringe and suburb of Ningbo (actually the three cases contained a total of seven different types of neighbourhood). It analysed the details of the changes at a neighbourhood level through the appraisal framework, from the perspective of the individual, the economy, society, public facilities and administration (see Chapters 1

and 9). Therefore, with the research perspectives from a city level and neighbourhood level, it ensured that the selection of cases is representative in terms of locations and categories, to effectively draw the full picture of the story about “changing”. Finally, this enabled the researcher to develop an understanding of the logic, mechanisms and motivations of the complex and comprehensive changes in transitional China.

10.2.2 Establishing the indicators system (appraisal framework)

Regarding the design of the system, the literature review of “sustainable development” and “community studies” may be seen as the theoretical foundation of the appraisal framework, and by considering the context of transitional China, this ensures that the system is appropriate for this study (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 4). The detailed indicators of the appraisal framework contained four domains: “overall community”, “social space”, “physical space” and “administration”, which were produced by the reference studies of “community studies” and “sustainable theories”. Each of the domains was divided into further categories (major indicators) with many sub-indicators, ensuring that the indicators of the system specifically cover the wide-ranging changes of communities (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 4).

10.2.3 Targeted data collection

The design of the data collection was also strictly in accordance with the indicator system, including both qualitative and quantitative data, with three features:

- 1) Methods of data collection are clear at the indicator level: for each single category (major indicators) of the system, a suitable choice out of four collection methods was chosen: “questionnaires”, “interviews”, “observation” and “desktop (archival research)”. In this way, a rich extent of data was collected, ensuring the adequacy of the data.
- 2) The data collection methods were specifically designed for different targeted social groups: the questionnaire was designed in two forms for local residents and migrant workers, because of the significant characteristics of these two groups. The interviews were also correspondingly designed with three types of interview sheets, according to the interviewees’ background (local residents, migrant workers, elderly people, academics, community committees, social groups). This ensured that all of the collected data are accurate, effective and reliable. It is worth mentioning that all of the analysis and discussion are separated into those pertaining to local residents, and those relating to migrant workers.
- 3) Data collection took into account the factor of “changing” (since this is a research about “change”). Besides using the census and yearbooks, this was also taken into consideration when designing the questionnaires and interviewees. For example, usually the interviewees were residents over the age of 50 (because this research involved the change over the past three decades); this ensured that he or she really knew about the local changes over this time

period.

10.3 The wider implications and benefits of the research

This research has significant wider implications and benefits of the research for the future of planning and local governance in China.

For the future of planning

With the rapid development of China's society and economy, the continuous expansion of the city scale and the rapid growth of the population size have brought great challenges to the urban planning. Traditional urban design and planning has tended to pay more attention to the building and reform of physical space, and the practice dominated by top-down policies, while largely ignoring community care and the survey of individuals (Xu, 2008).

For example, in the regeneration projects of old downtown, historical and heritage were suffered serious damage. Urban planning is often used to rebuild totally, cutting off the city's historical and cultural context (Wang, 2010); and the lack of individual-level depth social research, then the newly renovated housings and engineering projects, hardly meet the real needs of local residents (Wu, 2005). Another example is that some newly built projects of towns in Zhejiang, are often unrealistic image projects, fully meeting the preferences of higher levels of governments, but does not take into account the real needs of the local residents in the construction project (Zhang and Zhu, 2010). Obviously, these top-down projects have less concerning on the demand of individual households.

Based on a solid survey on individual-level and community organizations, this research can reflect the real requirements of diverse residents, and understand their thinking in terms of housing and environmental qualities, to fill the gap of social studies for urban planning. Then, planning projects may be closer to the real life of the residents through providing practical ideas, finally to improve the real livability. Moreover, practitioners and employees of urban planning may also draw upon the methodology from this research, in order to enhance the awareness of social survey in planning, through short-term training in data collections, seminars of specific issues from a social angle, and other means to update the knowledge of urban planning and society changes.

For local governance in China

By three reforms of urban and rural community administration in transitional China, the management and service efficiency have been greatly improved, as well as the degree of participation of residents and social groups (See chapter 9). Public participation is still weak, not all local residents' real ideas and demands can realistically be reflected in the implementation of community planning projects; the worse aspect is that rural migrants workers, as a rapidly growing population group, whose population structure, social and

economic demands are very different from the local residents, have almost been completely ignored in the participation process of community development (See chapter 7 and chapter 9). How to integrate these social groups' values and demands into local administration process, and balance the rights of sharing local resources, are the challenges for the policy makers, who largely lacked an understanding of the latest changes community changes of population structure and social aspects, to make the workable policies. Hence, the contradictions greatly reduced the quality of life and did little to satisfy the demand of the community changes.

However, this study made a detailed analysis of the specific roles and functions of community committees, social groups, CPCs and the levels of public participation, and pointed out the administration problems of different types of urban and rural communities and neighbourhoods. For example, in commercial-residential neighbourhood, the sense of community is rather weak, and specifically how young people should be encouraged to join the community governance is an important issue (See chapter 6). And in villages of suburban and traditional urban neighbourhood of old downtown, the rural migrant population accounts for over half of the total resident population, has a significant impact to community development and governance (See chapter 6 and chapter 8), so how to enable them to actively participate in community governance and development, is a very important proposition.

These problems and situation have been discussed and analyzed in detail in this study, as well as the mechanisms. Then, policy-makers may make more reasonable public participation details, if they also emphasizing on the social part studies. Because knowing the specific and understanding the actual situation of community and social changes are the foundation of policy making, to perfect urban planning system, strengthen participation awareness, carry out efficient examination and approval according to the policies and planning law, and minimize the negative impact of randomness decisions on planning projects by top-down.

In today's China, most problems and demands of urbanization and neighbourhoods cannot be effectively solved by the means of physical-space reform and construction design, simply because most problems are from the complex population structure of social contradictions (Zhao, 2003; Zhang, 2012). Hence, without depth-understanding the research areas in community-level and individual-levels, the top-down policies and planning would never be workable. Then, this research with very solid field studies on details changes of social and individual, provided a significant implementation and wider inspiration for the future of planning and local governance and policies making in China

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Appendices

Appendices

Appendix (1) Questionnaires for locals (total 3 pages)

Survey site: _____ neighborhood number: _____

Ningbo urban neighborhoods' changes studies 1984-2014

Dear local residents:

The aim of this survey is to better understand the local neighborhood changes, and to support the studies on better neighborhoods. Thank you very much and appreciate your participation. Best wishes.

Investigator: Guoping Zhang, PhD on "towards better neighborhoods, the changes of neighborhoods in transitional China"

Survey institution: Planning of University of Liverpool, Dec. 2014

Pease directly fill in "v" on digital options or fill in on "___" when needed

Hukou: _____ Province _____ city

A. Basic information

1. Gender: ① Male ② Female

2. Age group: ① under 18 ② 18-25 ③ 26-35 ④ 36-45 ⑤ 46-55 ⑥ 56-65 ⑦ above 66

3. Marriage: ① unmarried ② married ③ divorce ④ bereft of one's spouse

4. Education: ① Primary school ② Junior Middle School ③ Senior Middle School ④ Junior college
⑤ Undergraduate ⑥ Graduate ⑦ PhD

5. Hukou places: ① Rural area ② Urban area

B. Employment Information

1. Vocational status: ① On the job ② Jobless ③ Retired ④ Others _____

2. The changes of your income and incomes ways since 1980s

Periods	General income (Yuan)	Ways of income (Multiple choices)
1980s		① Salary ② Agricultural income ③ Rent
1990s		④ Operating income
Since 2000s		⑤ Profits sharing (Saving/stocks/funds)

3. The changes of your occupations since 1980s

Periods	Types	Types of industry	Source
1980s	A. SOEs C. P.E. B. Collective Enterprise F. Farming D. Public Insti. E. Military	① Party & government ② Manufacture ③ Commerce ④ Agriculture	① examination ② by friends & colleague ③ by fellow villagers ④ employment agency
1990s	① student ② worker ③ white collar ④ soldier	⑤ Education & culture ⑥ Traffic	⑤ labor market ⑥ by yourself searching
Since 2000s	⑤ professional skill ⑥ managers ⑦ farming ⑧ individuals small business ⑨ freelance work ⑩ civil servant ⑪ others	⑦ Service industry ⑧ Finance ⑨ medical treatment ⑩ Others	⑦ by family ⑧ national allocation ⑨ transformation by soldier ⑩ replacement ⑪ recruit workers

C. Residential information

1. Address: _____ Zone/Street. NO. _____ Building

2. Family members _____: Family members in 1990s _____: Family members in 1990s _____:

3. Housing move since 1980s ① One time ② Twice ③ Three times ④ Four times ⑤ More than five times

4. Details of moving:

Periods	location	Types	Source of housing	Facilities
1980s		① Tube-shaped apart. ② Villa	① UNIT distribution ② Resettlement	① Toilet ② Bathroom
1990s		③ Double rooms ④ Triple rooms ⑤ Double layers ⑥ Others	③ Housing reform ④ Purchase ⑤ Rent ⑥ Immig. Works apartment ⑦ Workplace ⑧ Dormitory ⑨ Others	③ Kitchen ④ Study room ⑤ Warehouse

5. Details of moving:

Periods	Area m ²	Sharing with whom?	Expendi. /M	Reasons of moving
Since 1980s		① No ② Spouse ③ Parents ④ Children		① Working changes ② Children education
Since 1990s		⑤ Villagers ⑥ Colleagues		③ Need larger area ④ Live together with their son's family
Since 2000s		⑦ Classmates ⑧ Others		⑤ Displacement and resettlement ⑥ Rise of rent

D. Public service and entertainment

1. Does your child study in Ningbo? ① Yes ② No
 —If yes, what kind of school? ① Public school ② Private school ③ School for migrant workers' children
 —If not, What is the influence? ① Red tape ② Parents' instable jobs ③ Unreasonable tuition
2. The changes of commuting traffic since 1980s

Periods	workplace	Time cost of commuting	Vehicle
Since 1980s		① 5 min. ② 15min.	① On foot ② Bike
Since 1990s		③ 30min. ④ 45min.	③ Motorbike ④ Electromobile
Since 2000s		⑤ 1 hour ⑥ 1.5 hours ⑦ over 1.5 hours	⑤ Private car ⑥ Taxi ⑦ Bus/metro

3. The ways of leisure in daily life since 1980s

Periods	The ways of leisure in daily life since 1980s (multiple choices)
Since 1980s	① Surf the internet ② Watch TV ③ Rest at home ④ Reading
Since 1990s	⑤ Strolling in park ⑥ Visit relatives and friends ⑦ Community activities ⑧ play cards/Mahjong/chess
Since 2000s	⑨ Shopping ⑩ Movie and KTV ⑪ Outskirts and other counties ⑫ Training and learning

4. The changes of living consumption sites since 1980s

Periods	Daily supplies	Clothing	Home appliance	Shopping sites (multiple choices)
Since 1980s				① Supply & marketing cooperative ② Shop commissioned to sell certain goods
Since 1990s				③ Small commodity wholesale market ⑤ Small and medium-size supermarket
Since 2000s				⑥ Large supermarket ⑦ Large shopping mall(downtown)

E. Sense of the community

1. How do you consider yourself? ① Ningbo local resident ② New Ningbo resident ③ Non-local
2. Where do you seek help in the trouble?
① Relatives and friends ② Neighborhoods ③ Local neighborhood committee/village committee
④ Sub-district office ⑤ Share economy cooperation ⑥ Others _____
3. Have you attend in the general elections of neighborhood committee or village committee?
① Every time ② Frequently ③ Rarely ④ Never
4. Have you attended Neighborhood shareholder conference?
① Every time ② Frequently ③ Rarely ④ Never
5. Have you attended local activities organized by local neighborhood?
① Every time ② Frequently ③ Rarely ④ Never
6. If attended? What are the activities?
① Donation ② Sports Games ③ Greening ④ Public security ⑤ Training courses
⑦ Planning and management ⑥ Volunteer for helping the aged and disability ⑧ Others _____
7. Whom do you contact to most frequently?
① Relatives ② Neighborhoods ③ Friends ④ Colleague ⑤ People out of local Neighborhood
⑥ Local Villagers ⑦ Others _____
8. How do you satisfy regarding the different aspects?

	Quite satisfied	Satisfaction	OK	Not satisfaction	Very unsatisfied
1. Material standard of living	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Housing condition	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Education and medical treatment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Surroundings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Government work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Neighborhood	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Cultural life	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Entertainment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Would like to further discuss about the community? Please leave your contact information:
 Tel. _____ Email _____
 QQ _____ Others _____
10. Would like to draw up your neighborhood as your will? Please draw on the back of the questionnaire freely.

Appendix (2) Interview sheet for residents (total 1 page)

Survey site: _____ neighborhood number: _____

Ningbo neighborhoods' changes studies 1984-2014

Dear local residents:

The aim of this survey is to better understand the local neighborhood changes, and to support the studies on better neighborhoods. Thank you very much and appreciate your participation. Best wishes.

Investigator: Guoping Zhang, PhD on "towards better neighborhoods, the changes of neighborhoods in transitional China"

Survey institution: Planning of University of Liverpool, Dec. 2014

Interview with local residents

A. Basic information

Age, education level, income and occupation, residential time, household registration and birthplace

B. The changes of daily life during 1980s – 1990s

1. Family structure: members
2. Housing: sources, area, conditions, types, reasons of moving, the problems of environment
3. Occupation: jobs, sources, working places, commute, income (the structure of family income)
4. Public service and leisure: paces, medical treatment, living consumption habit, ways of leisure (folk culture heritage),
5. The big events for a family, which may reflect the significant influence of the background (Buying television, get housing as part of welfare, go to college or finding a job)
6. Social cohesion: sense of community, community activities, participation (elections of LNC, LVC or collective enterprises), and social networks (neighborly, residential, working, geo-relation, relatives, etc)
7. Policies and systems, school enrollment, employment, and displacement and resettlement, etc

C. The emphasis on different periods (based on the big event of your family)

1980s: how is the daily life under the transformation of planned economy to marketing economy, including housing, occupation, leisure, social networking.

1990s: What is the influence and how is the neighborhood changed under urbanization and urban reform? Where are the migrant workers?

2000s: How is the housing market under the welfare-oriented public housing distribution system over? How is the demolition and resettlement? How are the immigrant workers in this period?

Appendix (3): Interview sheet for local CC/VC (total 1 page)

Survey site: _____ neighborhood number: _____

Ningbo neighborhoods' changes studies 1984-2014

Dear local residents:

The aim of this survey is to better understand the local neighborhood changes, and to support the studies on better neighborhoods. Thank you very much and appreciate your participation. Best wishes.

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Survey institution: Planning of University of Liverpool, Dec. 2014

Interview with local neighborhood committee or village committee

A. The administrative organization structure (Party Committee and Neighborhood Committee)

1. The local neighborhood administrative organizations structure (the public and NGOs), the different responsibilities
2. Local neighborhood committee structure (basic ground, personnel structure, election system, public participation and specific affairs.
3. Social functions (employment, public security, participation planning and property management)
4. The open discussion of administrative issues

B. Economic organizations (stock cooperative) structure

Organization character (ownership structure, producing process and cooperative characteristics)

Organization function (pattern of income distribution and employment)

C. Displacement and resettlement

The changes of policies, and influence on the neighborhood by the changes

The difficulties of compensation distribution and practical contradictions during the resettlement process

D. Neighborhood issues

Open discussion: the general background, development and changes of the neighborhood

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Appendix (4): Notes of Field study in Ningbo from 2014 to 2015

4.1 Arrive at Ningbo

The airport shuttle transferred in Ningbo train station, I have not recognized it until I saw the large mark on top of the construction.

Without SIM card I cannot call the students who are supposed to pick up me in Ningbo University. While I think of the boss who runs a small printing store I knew 3 years ago in campus, probably he is one of the less people I am familiar in university now. Fortunately, I found him and borrowed his phone connected the students. They appeared soon in east gate of campus and assisted me check in the accommodation, finally it only cost me 200 RMB (around 20 Pounds) for two months.

Coincidentally, I met the gatekeeper who I have known for more than 5 years in no. 4 building, and he offered me plenty of help in my life in Ningbo for the next two months. The very humid and no privacy of living in student's dormitory is not my concern, I seriously worried about the weather, raining and windy, and this is just beginning of the winter usually. Probably because of the weather, the concern, the new body clock or the long journey, I was just a cold fever at the beginning of the days.

4.2 The first week field study became the pilot study

Fortunately, I recovered three days later. Associate professor Qiao arranged two postgraduates to assist me the data collection. So we together went to the Tianyi Jiayuan community as the original case study plan by bus and metro. However, after the two whole days' studies, I found that this community was built up from a piece of cow grasslands, so it means it not fitted the designed type as a regenerated neighbourhood of downtown. Therefore, this case is required to be changed. How to select a new case in this short time? And what is going happen if the new selected case is another wrong one? Then I respectively discussed this point with two researchers of Ningbo University, Dr. Qiao and Dr. Feng who are both quite experienced on neighbourhood studies in Ningbo, unfortunately, they have no specific suggestions of suitable cases for me that moment neither, so I determined preferred to do the second case firstly, since I believed that the right type one will appear soon.

Nevertheless, I also had some achievement by the first week studies. Firstly, I found that the most efficient way of making contact with the Neighbourhood Committee is to talk with the top director of this organization. The first day I went to Tianyi Jiayuan Neighbourhood Committee is on Sunday, they cannot provide me enough valuable information simply because of the director is absent, while I have got the basic information of community development in the next day when I met the director.

Secondly, it is really hard for the residents to fill in the questionnaires, partly because of the

too much information and long questions by three pages, also most of old people cannot read without glasses. For this point, I reorganized the questions to be simple and almost recited the whole information of the questionnaire, and I started to ask them questions then filled in based on their answers in most of time.

Thirdly, gradually I found the significant different features between the local and rural immigrants groups. For example, the immigrant workers always have certain reasons to come here and lived together with their relatives or fellow villagers, their children are quite hardly accessible to schools; while plenty of the locals' moving have been influenced by the working changes, and none of them needs to worry about children's education. For this consideration, I redesigned the questionnaires for more specific questions for each of the two social groups: the local and immigrant workers' questionnaires.

4.3 Shangshao Village

Just arrived at Shangshao in 7th December

Take the no. 541 bus and transferred by no. 331 bus to reach the village by one and half hours in the morning. The Village Committee was closed due to the weekend, but the middle age lady I met in front of the gate still guided me go to the home of the village accounting when she knew the aim why I came, (I wonder why to the accounting not the village head? The middle age lady replied me: "only she knew the details of the village's development").

So I met the lady who is in charge of the financial accounting of the whole village. Obviously, by her facial expressions, she was not so happy of my arriving without any appointment, still shared the information and answered all my questions superficially within less than half hour, and her husband forcibly broken in our talking more than one time and queried me "how can you prove your identity" even after I showed the ID and reference letter by Ningbo University.

Then in the rest of the day, I just continued my wondering everywhere of the village, and basically I got an integral whole idea of the landscape and constructions until 5pm.

The second day to the fourth day

Next day when I got to the Village Committee, the only one attendant informed me that all the rest staff have attended to a meeting organised by the sub-district municipality until Thursday of this week. So I just continued my observation of the place and started to record the details I met, such as the location of the industrial zone, how many factories and how do they respectively located? Also I recorded the land use structure, including the form of the housings, the public activity space, the amenities and the infrastructure. This task almost took me two whole days.

A favourable turn on the fifth day

Finally I found the director of the village in Village Committee. Although I showed all my certificates which can prove my identity and why I come, he was very uncooperative, nearly refused all my questions. After several try, I can only give up and walked around in this three-story building, tried to get any pieces of useful information, unfortunately, nothing is valuable.

However, I met the village head near by the entrance when I was leaving, and he became quite helpful after he knew my aim and tasks here, then directly called the accounting lady for a appointment for me, also told me although the Village Committee was not able to distribute the questionnaires or do interviews for me since they are also quite busy with their own work, I still could take his words to do this data collection here, “the Village Committee and village head Mr Shao are very agreeable to do this survey through me”. And I believed these few words will be very workable for the following field studies.

Frustration again

So I started to distribute questionnaires confidently in the next day (12th, Dec.), but most of the villagers are still a bit alert to my investigation and busy with their own housework all the time.

Then, I went to the appointment with the financial accounting lady at 1pm, while she came one hour later, and did not provide any useful information to me as she told me all the information she knew already gave to you last Sunday.

So at the end of the day, I only finished two questionnaires and turned back my dormitory.

13th Dec to 31st Dec.

Gradually I found that the main reason of low efficient is about privacy, villagers are not able to talk with you for longer time the moment they are busy with their own housework in front of their housings. And as I observed that many villagers would life to enjoy the sunshine and chatting in some specific places of the village from 10am to 4pm; one more point should be concerned is they have little patient to fill in your questionnaires, so most of the time I preferred to ask them and fill in the information by their answers.

Therefore, I got up around 7am and took one and half hours to the village in the next more than two weeks, came back usually at 6pm, totally finished 49 questionnaires, and 23 interviews. The interviewees are locals, immigrants, staff of Village Committee, servants in amenities and workers in around factories. At night usually I record the summary of the interviews and the reflections of the daytime. Sometimes, one interview took around 2 hours to finish since the large information.

4.4 Wenchang Community

The choice of Wenchang Community

Wenchang community is the new choice instead of Tinayi Jiayuan Community as mentioned above. Actually, Wenchang community was confirmed on 20th Dec after the first observation and field studies, it contains the traditional old town landscape, resettle neighbourhood and different commercial neighbourhoods in this community, which are the big choice for the research.

The attitude change of Community Committee

The first formally filed studies was from on 5th Jan., I walked around the whole place by observing the landscape, the form of constructions, the diverse amenities and the people of the community, generally got knew the whole situation of the community.

The second day I directly went to the Wenchang Community Committee, they were unconcern my questions at all. Then I went to the Wangchun Sub-district who is directly in charge of the Wenchang community, found the director, Mr Wang. After he knew my situation and checked my reference letter from Ningbo University chancellor office, he immediately called to the director of Wenchang community, Mrs Zhou, then told me just go. So when the second time I went to the Wenchang Community Committee, they completely changed their attitude, became very warmly and helpfully to me. Be honestly, most of the interviewees were introduced by Mrs Zhou in this case studies, and they gave me plenty of help.

Join different New Year and summing-up meetings

As the time spending with the committee, we had become familiar, and Mrs Zhou asked me whether I like to be the volunteer of a New Year meeting. The meeting “Wenchang community volunteer team sum-up meeting 2014” was organized in a hall in 9th Jan., I just helped them distribute the snacks, fruits and gifts for each table. During the meeting, each of different volunteers introduced their achievement in 2014 and proposed a roughly plan in 2015, including the Wenyun dancing team, Wenyun singing team, help-each other neighbourhood team and civic report team, etc. Another meeting I served as a volunteer was held in 14th Jan., mainly about the representative residents’ assessment to the work of the Neighbourhood Committee in 2014. So both of the meetings provide me the valuable information on what exactly are the different tasks and responsibilities for different organizations and social groups? And how did they communicate to each other?

The passionate interviewees

Mrs Zhou actively introduced me different interviewees for each neighbourhood of this community, all of them are very helpful to answer the questions, and actively to open up the

discussion for certain question, sometimes the interview was even last more than 3 hours. For example, Mr Jiang from Xiangshelishu neighbourhood, interview with him was last the whole afternoon, the discussion including the structure of people, the existing problems in terms of environment and infrastructure, the activities organized by the neighbourhood, also he talked his family changes in the past three decades, the living condition and environment, the family members and his occupation and salaries.

Totally, 53 questionnaires and 24 interviews had been finished from 5th Jan. to 26th Jan. 2015, and the observation and reflection was summed and written in one whole notebook.

4.5 Yongjiang Village and the related neighbourhoods

The third case is mainly focus on how the village changes of around Ningbo University, which contains the Yongjiang village, Shuangqiao village, Lixia neighbourhood and Wencui neighbourhood. This is why I preferred to live in the postgraduate dormitory, not only easily accessible to the field studies but also convenient to use the university resource.

Yongjiang Village

The initial visit to Yongjiang village was my first year university study in 2004, and I had been there many times in the following three years, hence I was quite familiar with the whole village and also the students lived there and some local villagers. In Nov. 2010 to Jun. 2011, I started to do the field studies because of the project “The second poor young generation”, and interviewed many 11 young people including the students, graduates and entrepreneur. Finally on 6th Dec.2014, with five undergraduate students, we started the preliminary study in terms of observation, questionnaires and interviews. And it is important to note that all the interviews I did directly. And the intermittent studies was last to 10th Feb, I had being visited to the village 14 times, and totally finished 35 questionnaires and 15 interviews.

Shuangqiao Village

Shuangqiao village is located in the only way connected west campus to the main campus which must be passed, and it has plenty of amenities, so I often went shopping and found some good food there when I lived in Ningbo 2003 to 2007, 2010 to 2012. However, all the villagers and residents spread all over the city as the whole place had been demolished in summer 2013, so it has little chance to interview them. At this time, Mrs Y, wife of Dr Qiao, as the manager works in Logistic Group of Ningbo University, helped me introduced a couple of villagers work in the logistic company. So I finished 18 questionnaires and interviewed 9 villagers continuously, most of talking goes well, and they were very like to share the life experience and changes in the past, however, had little interesting to talk about the demolish process and details, especially the village head, Mr Wang, he directly told me except the details of demolishing, all the others are he was very delighted to share with me.

Wencui Neighbourhood

Actually almost all the interviews with the Shuangqiao villagers were processed in the guard room of the Wencui Neighbourhood, so I also interviewed the other gatekeepers and some local residents who lived here. And as a neighbourhood I lived more than two years, and the staff and students are the major body of Wencui Neighbourhood, I always have some ways and connections to talk to them. While, the Wencui Neighbourhood Committee was uncooperative with my studies, since they considered they have little data which my work needed.

Lixia Neighbourhood

Lixia neighbourhood was established and informed at 1985 since the traditional Lixia village was demolished in the same year because of Ningbo University development. And the villagers are quite warm and familiar with the identity as a student of Ningbo University, so things goes smoothly in the following days, and I used all the opportunities to talk to them whenever they were doing the work in land and garden, doing the laundry near by the river or washing dishes. In the end, 19 questionnaires and 11 interviews were done.

Appendix (5): Table-1 Residential changes in Shuangqiao since the 1980s

	Before 1986	1986 to the 1990s	2000 to present day
Housing form	Rural traditional housing	Rural traditional housing, self-constructed	Rural traditional housing, self-constructed
Main body	Villagers of Shuangqiao	Villagers , Migrants	Migrants and Villagers
Household living area	Mostly over 100 m ²	94% are over 100 m ²	100% are over 100 m ²
housing sources	From senior generation	From senior generation, self-building	self-building, reforming, From senior generation,
Facilities	Independent kitchen, no bathroom or drainage	Independent kitchen, bathroom, toilet and drainage	Independent kitchen, bathroom, toilet and drainage
Household size	77% over four people	54% over four people	34% over four people, 52% two and three people
With whom	Parents, spouse, children	Children, spouse	Spouse, children

Source: Based on author's field survey, 2015